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The Christian Front and the Catholic Church

An Open Letter to Archbishop Spellman

What Jews Do for a Living

By WILLIAM DANA BRAITHWAITE

Now That War Has Come

AN EDITORIAL

Reviews by

Albert Guerard, Winifred Johnson,
Meyer Levin, Leane Zugsmith

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Answers Coughlin . . .

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The following artists have contributed to this issue: A. Birnbaum, William Gropper, Herb Kruckman and P. R. The Gropper drawings are from the volume *Gropper* published by the A. C. A. Galleries.

We regret that due to space limitation we have been forced to hold reviews by L. C. Dunn, Jerome Klein and Leane Zugsmith for the November issue.

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Equality

An Independent, Non-Sectarian, Monthly Journal to Defend Democratic Rights and Combat Racial and Religious Intolerance

Who, Me? (A Drawing) *by A. Birnbaum* 4
Now That War Has Come *An Editorial* 5
The Christian Front and the Catholic Church *by the Editors* .. 7
What Jews Do for a Living *by William Dana Braithwaite* ... 16
Nail the Lie 20
Hall of Fame 21
Hall of Shame 21
He Who Liveth by the Sword *by Ernst Waldinger* 22
Editorials 26
Two Letters on the Williamstown Institute *by Hyman Judah Schachtel and Kathryn Mansell* 29
News of the Month 30
Books 32

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WHO, ME?

NOW THAT WAR HAS COME

An Editorial

FOR years, ever since that unfortunate January 30, 1933, when Hitler seized power in Germany, it must have been clear to every thinking person in which direction things were heading. Nevertheless, until the very end, one indulged in the wishful thinking that somehow it might be possible to prevent the onrushing catastrophe. At first, this was more than mere wishful thinking; one could perceive a way out: the alternative of collective security. However, when England and France turned their backs upon this latter method because they believed that through the appeasement of Hitler and through lasting concessions to him it would be possible to deflect him from the idiocy of trying to dominate the world, it became apparent that the catastrophe was unavoidable.

And so now we find the World War on in full swing. Daily, in Eastern, as well as in Western Europe, thousands of human lives are being annihilated, towns and cities are being destroyed and fertile fields laid waste. The question, therefore, that all liberty-loving Americans now are asking themselves is: "What shall we do in order to be spared the agony of this fascist-imperialist orgy of destruction?"

When Hitler triumphed in Germany and the Nazi regime transformed the land of Beethoven and Goethe into a huge prison for its writers and scholars; many said: "This is none of our business. Definitely, it is Germany's internal affair as to how she chooses to run her country." Many people shut their eyes and refused to see how the Nazi regime was undermining by degrees friendly, neighboring states. Many countries even began to ape the Third Reich without realizing that they were undermining their own security and destroying their own defensive powers.

Precisely this is what happened in Austria. On March 7, 1933, immediately after the advent of Hitler to power in Germany, the Austrian Government dissolved Parliament and suspended the Constitution. A few months later it crushed all democratic forces in the country by military terror. The result could have been foreseen easily. On March 12, 1938, Austria succumbed before the Nazi avalanche without striking one blow in its own defense.

Austria had hardly been swallowed when Hitler began pounding against independent, democratic Czechoslovakia. The statesmen of Europe should have recognized the implications inherent in a situation where one man chose to proclaim himself as the absolute master, protector and dictator of all German-speaking people, regardless of the country or the continent on which they happened to live. But they refused to draw the only logical conclusion from such monstrous pretensions. Instead they peacefully submitted to the seizure of the Sudetenland, a province which never had belonged to Germany. And only several months later, all of Czechoslovakia was gobbled up in the voracious Nazi maw.

Hitler now possessed a handy weapon with which to undermine the existence of Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Jugoslavia: the pretext that these countries too were "maltreating" their German minorities. In this manner he created an atmosphere of alarm and insecurity throughout Europe. Finally, the cataclysmic day came when he ordered the invasion of Poland. And so the Nazi hordes swept over the plains of that unhappy land with fire and sword, bringing death and destruction in their wake.

What conclusions are we to draw from all these facts? Those of us who have been following events closely in this country have remarked upon the apparent identity between those sinister forces which nave their headquarters in Berlin and those which are carrying on their subversive activities in the Western Hemisphere. For instance, the German-American Bund cherishes the astounding dream of some day seizing the United States for Hitler with the aid of the German minority resident here. With this in mind it has established numerous camps from coast to coast in every part of the country. And over them floats not the American flag—but the swastika, the flag of War, the flag symbolic of the destruction of humanity and civilization. They have formed a united front with other un-American groups such as the hypocritical Christian Front which, hiding behind the far too-transparent mask of patriotism and "Christianity," is preaching intolerance and racial hatred.

Together the Bund and the Christian Front are trying to create a lynch spirit in this country and to undermine all the foundations of true Americanism, which stands for freedom, equality and tolerance. Taking Hitler's cue, they are attempting to conceal their ugly aims by painting the conflagration in Europe as a "Jewish war" against Hitlerism and defense preparations in this country as the private enterprise of Bernard Baruch.

At this moment these pro-Nazis are making a great clamor about their own brand of "neutrality." But it is crystal clear, except to the utterly blind, that the neutrality they are so loudly dinning about is not the neutrality which can advance the interests of our country, of democracy and of progress. Rather, it is the neutrality dear to the heart of Hitler, one which would help him ultimately to conquer and enslave us and the rest of the world. We must not permit these groups to confuse us. We urge a true neutrality based upon international law.

While we must keep our eyes glued on those hypocritical, treasonous individuals and organizations that work for Hitler's program while wrapping themselves demonstratively in the Stars and Stripes, we must warn all honest and decent people against the mistake of confusing the scourge of Nazism with the great German people. Neither is there the slightest identity between the bulk of German-Americans who are patriotic and civilized and feuhrer Kuhn's criminal Bundists. All German-Americans who regard themselves as loyal Americans must be warned, for their good, against having any direct or even remote contact with the Nazi Propaganda Ministry in Berlin or with its agents in this country. We depend upon them for assistance in our fight to prevent the rise of anti-German feeling in the United States and its exploitation by false patriots for political and economic advantage.

We call upon Americans to insist more vigorously than ever upon democratic rights. We must not submit to a "temporary" suspension of civil liberties. We must not permit ourselves to be stampeded into support of anti-democratic legislation. We must take every step to strengthen and implement our democratic rights and ideals, for in them lies our only guarantees of justice and liberty.

Like President Roosevelt, we hate war. We do not wish our country to become involved in a war. But we must not flinch from the ultimate logic of our deepest convictions. Let us not be fooled by slogans and lies. Americans dare not spill their blood to satisfy territorial lust or imperialist prestige. Our support should be given only to a peace that actually insures the freedom of all peoples and the conditions that will make it possible for them to work out their destinies with dignity.

Finally, we call upon all true Americans to rally to President Roosevelt's call for national unity. Divided, we shall be the prey of all the sinister forces in the world; united, we shall be able to weigh the scales in favor of a real and permanent peace.

Are You a Hitler?

YOU have seen the phrases printed around town on sidewalks, subway walls, doors, saying, "Get Out Jew!" "Don't Buy from Jews!" "The Jews Are Reds!" and if you have agreed, silently or vocally, with the authors, then you are a Hitler.

If you are, then you are subscribing in spirit to the murder and suicide and suffering of every refugee from Germany who has lost his life or liberty. You are helping along the destruction of human happiness.

If you are a Hitler and also a baptized Catholic, then you are also a Catholic bigot. You have no right to point out errors of Protestants or heretics, nor may you defend the principles of the Catholic Church, for you lack the honesty which symbolizes the real Catholic.

You need not fear for your physical safety. Numbers of your brothers slink into cabalistic gathering places. Perhaps you pay dues into the Bund. Why do you not parade with the Klan? For you belong to any group working to prevent races from living together peacefully, and you spur on the work of Communism.

If you salute the American flag, it is as a spy that you do so. If you tip your hat or cross yourself while passing a Catholic church, you do so as an impostor, for Christ's vicar said, "It is impossible for Christians to take part in anti-Semitism."

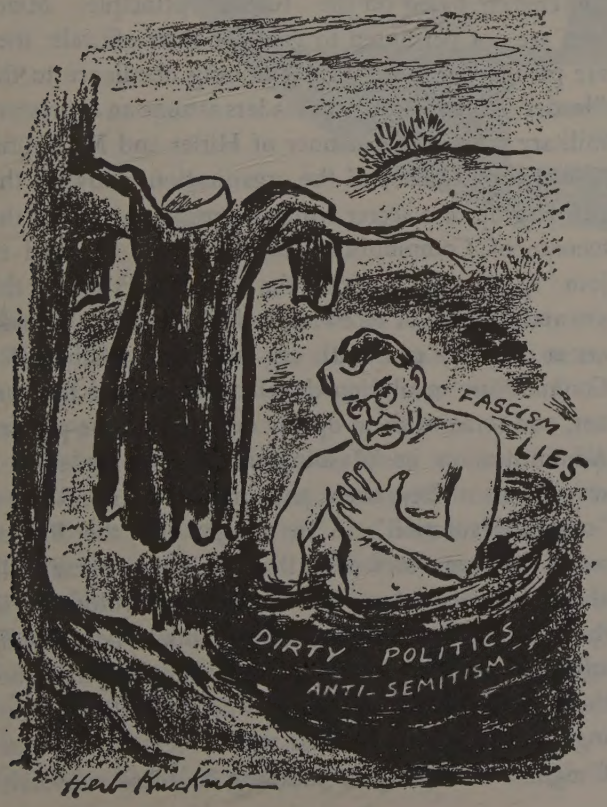
Priests, nuns, children, pious laymen—all pray to be delivered from your enmity when they say at Mass, "Deliver me, O Lord, from the unjust and deceitful man."—*Wisdom*, July-August, 1939.

THE CHRISTIAN FRONT AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

An Open Letter to Archbishop Spellman

IN RECENT months the citizens of New York have watched with grave concern the development of a movement threatening the peace and safety of the city. If permitted to continue unchecked, this movement may eventually culminate in violent, bloody rioting such as the city has never known. It is a situation requiring prompt and effective action. We address this letter to you because we feel, for reasons which will be made clear, that it is in your power to do more than any other person to prevent this tragic eventuality.

The movement we refer to is that calling itself, ironically enough, the "Christian Front." Its fountain-head, chief organizer and undisputed leader is the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Michigan. Its major organ is Father Coughlin's magazine, *Social Justice*. Father Coughlin has denied the charge that he is an anti-Semite. He has also denied the charge that his methods and aims are fascistic. It is not the purpose of this letter to present a detailed discussion of these charges and denials; overwhelming evidence has been elsewhere adduced showing conclusively that he is the most dangerous purveyor of anti-Semitic, anti-democratic propaganda in America today. One needs but to peruse any two or three issues of *Social Justice* of the past few months to find living proof of these charges. But we are here concerned with the effects of the activities of Father Coughlin and his followers in that part of New York City which falls under your jurisdiction.



In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus said: "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in the clothing of sheep, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them."

By their fruits ye shall know them. And the so-called Christian Front is the bitter fruit of the seeds of hate and dissension sown by Father Coughlin.

For generations before Father Coughlin "invaded" the city (the term is his own), New York presented a picture of peaceful cooperation among its citizens. The unity of the peoples of diverse origins who compose the citizenry of New York was noted by visitors as one of the most remarkable features of the metropolis. It stood as a living example for other communities. In religious complexion, New York's population consists almost equally of Catholics, Protestants and Jews who, in spite of individual prejudices here and there, generally have managed to live and work together in complete harmony.

But what is the picture now? Group is being set against group, religion against religion, neighbor against neighbor. Hate and suspicion poison the air. Tension mounts. Should it reach the breaking point, it may be predicted that large-scale bloody riots will ensue. If and when this should come to pass, the "Christian Front," its inspirer and its organizers will have to bear the major responsibility. In some areas of the city, the streets are becoming unsafe for citizens who happen to be Jews. On many street-corners the ears of passersby are assailed by the shouts of *Social Justice* vendors, such as: "Send the Jews back where they came from, in leaky boats"; "Read *Social Justice* before the Jews get control of City Hall and the United States"; "How long are we going to let the Jews run this country?" It must cause indescrib-

able pain to refugee passersby, Jews and Christians, innocent victims of the Nazi conquest of Central Europe, to hear the heartless taunt: "Throw the Refu- Jews into the Ocean!" Members of the Christian Front march through streets and subway trains shouting extremely provocative anti-Semitic, pro-fascistic slogans. Individuals who appear to be Jewish are singled out as particular objects for insult and, at times, physical assault. Jewish shopkeepers are terrorized. Indecent anti-Semitic stickers are pasted on windows and doors of stores, subway cars, trolleys, etc. Organized boycotts are threatened against newsdealers refusing to carry *Social Justice,* or who vend periodicals that "Father Coughlin doesn't like." Street fights provoked by Coughlinites have become increasingly frequent in New York. At least three Jews have been stabbed by anti-Semitic hoodlums. Police records reveal a mounting number of arrests of Coughlinites for disorderly conduct and disturbing the peace. It is patent that the Christian Front movement has entered the stage of street-fighting remarkably similar to the activities of Hitler's storm troopers in Berlin and other cities before the Nazi conquest of power. The propaganda and tactics of the Christian Front so closely resemble Nazi techniques that one is forced to conclude that the resemblance is more than coincidental. In the face of these provocations and direct attacks, it must be said that the 2,500,000 Jews of New York City have displayed an extraordinary degree of patience and forbearance. But should the situation develop to the point of widespread physical attacks on the Jews—as the Christian Front leaders repeatedly advocate—they will be forced to defend themselves, as the Catholics were forced to defend themselves during the Orangemen's provocations in 1870 and 1871. Who can foretell what tragic consequences may ensue?

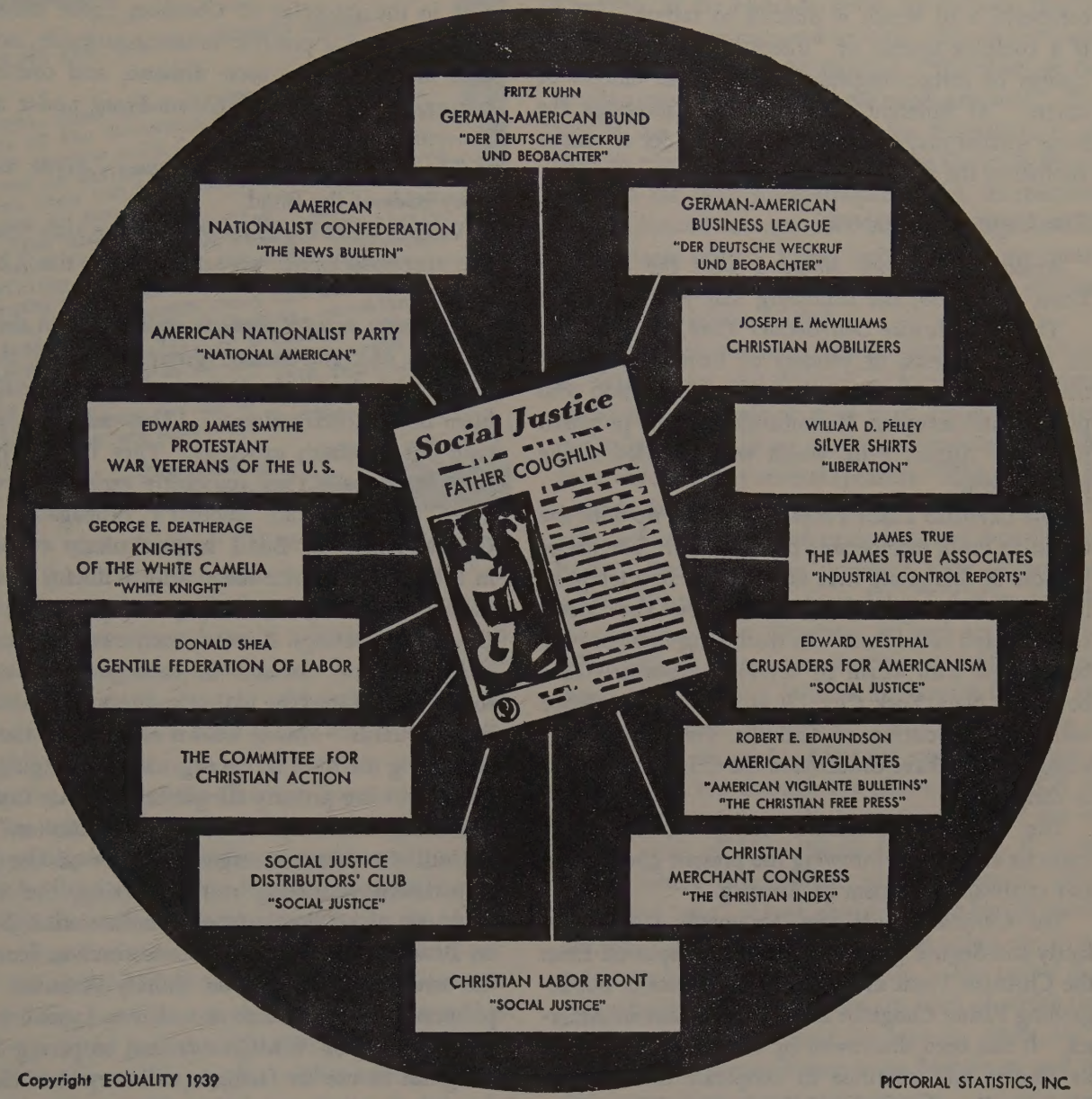
What Is the "Christian Front"?

In his radio address of November 6, 1938, reprinted in his pamphlet, *Am I An Anti-Semite?* Father Coughlin told his followers: "It is necessary for us to solidify and strengthen a virile, closely woven Christian Front." This was his very first broadcast upon returning to the air after his crushing political defeat in the 1936 elections. In *Social Justice* of May 23, 1939, he called upon his followers to organize on the "platoon" system. "Let your organization be composed of no more than twenty-five members," he counselled. "After a few contacts with these twenty-five persons you will observe that two of them may be capable of organizing twenty-five more. Invite these capable people to do that very thing." "You and your group are directly affiliated to me," the priest declared in his "Message to Platoons" in the June 15 issue of his magazine. More recently, in praising the activities of the Christian Front, he has stated that he could serve the organization most effectively as "your friend and counselor." Meanwhile, Father Coughlin and his followers have been steadily building up the Christian Front in New York and other cities.

A veil of secrecy shrouds the organizational makeup of the Christian Front. Upon close examination, however, a certain pattern emerges from the confused welter. The Christian Front in New York serves a double function. It is (1) a membership organization formed along semi-military lines, limited to men over eighteen years of age, and (2) a coordinating center for a united front of various anti-Semitic, Fascist and Nazi groups in this city. In short, it enlists both individuals and organizations under its banner.

Individual membership in the Christian Front is limited to men over eighteen years of age. Application blanks for membership require unusually detailed information, such as the name and birthplaces of parents, the applicant's exact height, weight, complexion, color of hair and eyes, nationality, race, religion and—significantly enough—his military record. Only card holders are admitted to meetings. The setup of the organization is completely undemocratic, being frankly based on the "fuehrer' principle. Members are not permitted to vote for their officials; they are pledged to blind, unquestioning obedience to the "leader." Leaders and sub-leaders assume an aggressive military pose in the manner of Hitler and Mussolini. The entire tendency of the organization is toward the building up of a secret army, ostensibly to combat the menace of Communism. Members are required to join "sports clubs," within the Christian Front for the avowed purpose of receiving military training. Speakers at meetings constantly try to evoke a picture of a Communistic revolution that is right around the corner, and some of them openly declare that the present Administration in Washington is planning such a revolution. They stress the immediate need for a "counter-revolution" to be fought in "the Franco way." It seems incredible that this kind of crazy talk about the need of a "Franco counter-revolution" in these United States here and now should be seriously advanced outside the walls of mental hospitals, but the truth is that the audiences at Christian Front meetings are impressed by such wild statements. Father Coughlin himself gave meaning to these subversive

THE CHRISTIAN FRONT



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ideas when he shouted, in his radio address of July 30, 1939: "We will fight you in Franco's way if necessary! Call this inflammatory, if you will. It is inflammatory."

Members of the Christian Front are continually warned of the need of equipping themselves with fire-arms in preparation for "Der Tag." Intense recruiting drives for the Christian Front are carried on among New York City policemen and in the National Guard. The 69 Infantry Regiment—"the Fighting Irish"—is a special concentration point for recruiting.

The impression is sedulously spread by speakers at Christian Front meetings, that our democracy has run down and that it is necessary to supplant it with a "Christian" dictatorship. It is charged that the present government—national, state and local—is "Jew-controlled"—and that the Jews will have to be driven out of America or massacred in order to make this a "Christian" country.

Incitements to terror and violence are frequently made, especially by the national president of the organization, John F. Cassidy. Members are even directed to break up peaceful meetings, held by groups to which the Christian Front is hostile. Even children are encouraged by the Christian Front to engage in acts of hooliganism against Jews.

As a coordinating body, the Christian Front embraces a number of groups cooperating in a common

cause. Most of these groups are secret societies, the composition of which is difficult to fathom. There is a complex system of "interlocking directorates"; leaders of certain organizations are also officers of others. At different Christian Front meetings the same speaker may be announced as a leader of one or another of the various affiliates.

The Unholy Alliance

Among the groups affiliated with the Christian Front federation, the following may be mentioned:

The *Social Justice Distributors' Club,* consisting, as its name suggests, of vendors of Father Coughlin's magazine. It was the head of this organization who planned and served as "Commander" of the proposed parade of August 19th, which was cancelled at the eleventh hour.

The *Christian Labor Front* closely tied up with the Christian Front membership organization. The major purpose of this group thus far has been to attempt to fissure the existing trade unions in New York along religious and racial lines. Its disrupting influence has been noted with alarm by several established labor bodies in New York City. It is not to be confused with the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, whose officials have condemned the C.L.F. movement as dangerous.

The *American National Party,* which openly states its aim of overthrowing the present government and establishing fascism in America.

The *Christian Mobilizers,* an openly fascist, violently anti-Semitic group, representing a split-off from the Christian Front membership organization, but regarding Father Coughlin as its major leader in America. It has been disavowed by Father Coughlin, but its leaders still continue to cooperate closely with Christian Front groups, and frequently are invited to address the latter.

The *Crusaders for Americanism,* followers of Father Coughlin, whose major slogan is "Boycott the Jew." The leader of this outfit, Edward Westphal, is a rabid-Jew-baiting fascist. An example of his oratory, as delivered at a recent meeting, may be cited as expressive of the Crusaders' sentiments: "When you are in a crowd yell 'kill the Jew!' What we need in America is another Franco or Hitler. Three cheers for Moseley, our new leader, and three cheers for Coughlin, our new Hitler!" Westphal, incidentally, has run afoul of the law several times. He was recently convicted for participating in a riot leading to the injury of several police officers.

The *German-American Bund,* Fritz Kuhn's Nazi organization. This group, which has played a leading role in the interplay of Christian Front affiliates, is under a cloud at present. It seems probable, however, that the Bund may soon disband, and continue its cooperation with the Christian Front under a more convenient guise.

The *German-American Business League,* an auxiliary body of the Bund.

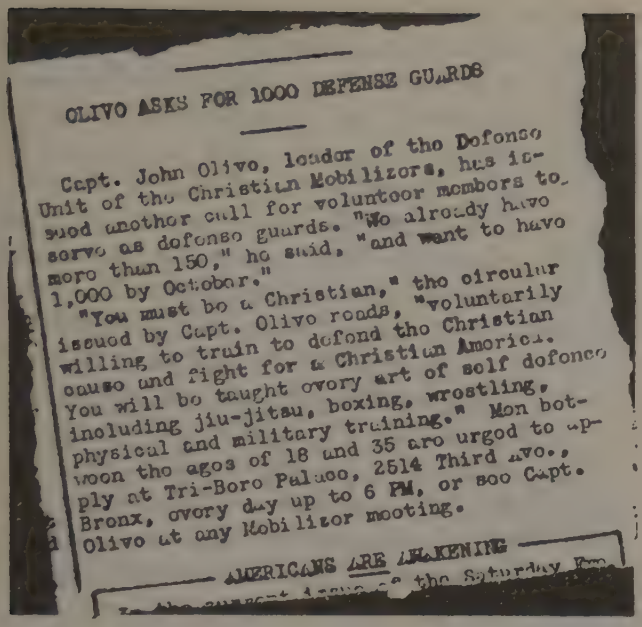
Various other organizations, having aims similar to the aforementioned, are affiliated to the Christian Front.

A perfect *entente cordiale* exists between the Nazi, Fascistic and anti-Semitic groups gathered together in this Unholy Alliance masquerading under the emblem of "Christian Front." They advertise and attend one another's meetings. They frequently hold joint meetings. They constantly exchange speakers. They distribute one another's propaganda. The German-American Bund is particularly cooperative in this respect. Fritz Kuhn and Wilhelm Kunze of the Bund are frequent and popular speakers at Christian Front meetings. At many such meetings, the Nazi *ordnungsdienst,* dressed in their storm-troop uniforms, parade into the hall in military formation, and act as "guards." Many known members of the Bund are among the most active organizers and agitators of groups vowing primary allegiance to Father Coughlin and hence commonly known as "Coughlinites."

Until the recent emergency decree of the Police Department restricting mass picketing, the Sunday afternoon picket line in front of radio station WMCA on Broadway was a favorite concentration center for the assorted groups in the Unholy Alliance. This picketing, it will be remembered, was formed following radio station WMCA's refusal to permit Father Coughlin to use its facilities without submitting his speeches in advance, as other radio speakers do.

In a touching display of comradeship, Nazi Bundsmen, fanatical Fascists and Coughlinites marched side by side and often arm in arm on these picket lines.

Usually, when picketing ended, the participants marched en masse to Columbus Circle, where meetings were held. Here speakers invariably excoriated the "Communist Jews," the Jews in general, the city, state and national governments and the democratic system. Fulsome praise was heaped on Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and Coughlin—the "greatest American who ever lived," the "greatest man in the world." Fights were picked with Jews who stopped to listen to the speaker. Not untypical of the inflammatory remarks of the speakers was that uttered at such a meeting held Sunday, August 27th, when the speaker,



OLIVO ASKS FOR 1000 DEFENSE GUARDS

Capt. John Olivo, leader of the Defense Unit of the Christian Mobilizers, has issued another call for volunteer members to serve as defense guards. "We already have more than 150," he said, "and want to have 1,000 by October."

"You must be a Christian," the circular issued by Capt. Olivo reads, "voluntarily willing to train to defend the Christian cause and fight for a Christian America. You will be taught every art of self defense including jiu-jitsu, boxing, wrestling, physical and military training." Men between the ages of 18 and 35 are urged to apply at Tri-Boro Palace, 2514 Third Ave., Bronx, every day up to 6 PM, or see Capt. Olivo at any Mobilizer meeting.

AMERICANS ARE AWAKENING

livid with rage, screamed: "If we find any dirty Jews here we'll tear them to pieces, cops or no cops!"

Not content with picketing WMCA, the Coughlinites and their assorted Fascist allies carry on secondary picketing against firms advertising through this station. Curiously enough, although WMCA includes many Christian firms among its advertisers, the Coughlinites picket Jewish advertisers exclusively.

Street meetings of the Christian Front and its affiliates are spreading rapidly. Following such meetings of the Christian Front, inflamed members of the audience, led by *Social Justice* vendors, frequently march through the streets, shouting slogans like the following: "Buy Christian Only," "Down with the Jews," and "Wait till Hitler comes over here." Groups of Coughlinite hoodlums on their way home from these meetings often pass through subway trains directing insults and provoking fights with unoffending passengers. At times Coughlinite meetings are disbanded early, and the members proceed to a meeting of the German-American Bund, where their entrance is invariably greeted with the Nazi salute and hysterical applause.

The "Christian Mobilizers"

Most violent in character are the street meetings held under the auspices of the "Christian Mobilizers." Although this group has been "disavowed" by *Social Justice,* it nevertheless continues to swear undying fealty to Father Coughlin. The "Commander" of the Christian Mobilizers is Joseph E. McWilliams, who was formerly (and may still be) connected with the openly fascist American Nationalist Party. He has stated on several occasions: "What do they call me, a Fascist? Yes, I am a Fascist." At a meeting held May 12, 1939, at the Hotel Iroquois, he declared that all Jews were communists and were the curse of the country. "We must hate!" he shouted. "We must get the people aroused, we must get the youth aroused!" The application blank of the Christian Mobilizers is almost an exact duplicate of that of the Christian Front. Built on the Nazi storm-trooper model, its membership is limited to men over eighteen, organized in "strong arm units." Lately uniformed "army units" of the Mobilizers have appeared, who boast of their effectiveness in street fighting.

A meeting held under their auspices on August 14th at 141st Street and Crimmins Avenue, the Bronx, afforded an example of their street rioting. According to police testimony, direct incitements to murder Jews were made by several speakers. When a drunken man on the edge of the crowd heckled a speaker, the inflamed crowd pounced upon him and beat him up badly. Onlookers who protested were likewise set upon. When Police Captain John T. Collins ordered the meeting to be dispersed, he and several of his fellow-officers were immediately assaulted by Mobilizers, with resulting injuries to Captain Collins and Sergeant Robert McAllister. Three ringleaders of the riot were arrested. After the meeting was broken up, the mob ran through the streets crying "Kill the Jews!" Part of the mob stopped in front of the stationery store of Mrs. Fannie Bergman on E. 138th Street, where they hurled such epithets as "dirty kike" and "slut" at both the owner and her girl assistant, and threatened to start a boycott unless she would turn over her store to a "Christian." The crowd then proceeded to the police station, in front of which they were harangued by one of the leaders. Here, too, a general fight ensued between the Mobilizers and the police, resulting in two more arrests.

The Christian Mobilizers are active in the "Boycott the Jew" movement, which has become a major objective among most Coughlinite groups. Some months ago a new organization was formed by fanatical followers of Father Coughlin for the specific purpose of organizing an anti-Jewish boycott throughout the city. Calling itself the "Greater New York Committee for Christian Action," it has published a "Christian Index," listing the names and addresses of particular stores acceptable to the Committee, where readers are urged to make their purchases. Violent attacks against the Jews are made at meetings called by this group. The "Christian Index" it issues modestly states that "Christ Himself has sponsored this little leaflet for YOUR protection." Merchants included in the Index

are required to sign the following pledge: "I pledge my Christian word of honor (1) to buy wholesale and retail from Christians only; (2) to give employment to Christians only; (3) to stand loyally by other Christian traders in the Index."

Many vendors of Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* on the streets of New York also hawk *Liberation,* the scurrilous, anti-Semitic organ of William D. Pelley's fascist Silver Shirts,* and the equally anti-Semitic *National American,* organ of the fascist American Nationalist Party. Other pro-fascist, anti-Semitic pamphlets and periodicals are also frequently sold by these street salesmen. It is difficult to believe that these vendors are handling this literature solely on their own initiative, since most if not all of them are members of the strictly-disciplined Social Justice Distributors' Club.

Purchasers of *Social Justice* of August 21st sold on the streets found tucked away in their copies a leaflet announcing a meeting to be held under the sponsorship of the Christian Mobilizers at Inisfail Hall, 240th Street, on August 23rd. Featured speakers, according to the leaflet, were to be Edward James Smythe, head of the Protestant War Veterans of the United States, and George E. Deatherage, national commander of the Knights of the White Camellia. It happens that the Protestant War Veterans headed by Smythe is a blatantly anti-Semitic and *anti-Catholic* organization. Let us quote from a letter, rather poorly phrased but clear in meaning, issued by this organization August 24, 1938:

> We are strongly anti-Jewish and pro-Nationalistic. We, like Hitler, believe that the Roman Church should be driven out of our political life and out of State affairs. We also believe that the Roman Church being a Foreign business and political unit that all their property should be taxed and a certain Governmental supervision over their affairs to make them stop bleeding their people of billions of dollars which wind up in Rome.
>
> We are not against the Catholic Church as a Religious unit but as a political organization as that is exactly what it is.

Such is the nature of the organization which is actively aided by Father Coughlin's most enthusiastic followers, those who sell his magazine. The *Social Justice* vendors were fully aware of the leaflet inserted in their papers, for a number of them were plentifully supplied with extra copies of the announcement.

And what of George E. Deatherage, the other featured speaker? It may be recalled that he appeared several months ago before the Dies Committee, where irrefutable evidence, including his own confession, revealed that he was engaged in a plot to impose a military dictatorship upon this country. The plan was to have General Moseley serve as "America's Hitler." It was Deatherage's suggestion that leaders of groups "on our side of the fence," including Father Coughlin, be brought into the plot. He was active, according to Mr. Dies, in disseminating obviously pro-fascist and pro-Nazi propaganda." Of him and two of his associates, the Dies Committee officially reported: "Thus we have this picture: three men (and the evidence shows there are many others doing the same thing) band together to launch an appeal to racial prejudice in the hope of inflaming the people to a point where they will succumb to military dictatorship."

The meeting advertised by the *Social Justice* vendors was held at Inisfail Park as scheduled, attended by some 10,000 people. About 75 uniformed members of the Christian Mobilizers "Army Unit," marching in military formation, led a parade into the grounds. Speakers at the meeting included J. E.

National American

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Nationalist Press Association

147 East 116th Street, New York City, N. Y.

Vol. 2 No. 12 NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 1938 Price 5 Cents

JEWS REGIMENTING AMERICA FOR WAR!.

ONWARD CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS

MAN POWER MOBILIZATION WAR ARMS FIGHT FIGHT

AMMUNITION

Baruch Now Resumes His Role Of The 'Unofficial President',

To Play Same Part As He Did In World War

The Fascists Find a Scapegoat

* Pelley, a notorious racketeer whose stock in trade is assorted prejudices, has been convicted of fraud, and is now being sought by the Dies Committee to explain certain mysterious financial manipulations in connection with his openly Nazi operations. He proudly boasts that he was the first in America to extol Hitler's greatness.

McWilliams, leader of the Mobilizers, Deatherage, a representative of the Protestant War Veterans substituting for Smythe, and Fritz Kuhn of the Nazi Bund. Kuhn was greeted with thunderous applause, received many "heils" during his speech, and was given the Hitler salute by the Mobilizers Army Unit at its conclusion. Two Catholic priests sat on the platform as guests of honor throughout the proceedings. Deatherage compared the present situation in the United States with that of Spain at the time the late civil war broke out, and suggested that this country was ripe for a "counter-revolution" in the "Franco way."

Father Coughlin's magazine was by far the most widely sold periodical at the meeting. All the speakers, including Kuhn, extolled him as a great leader, and mention of his name brought the most enthusiastic responses from the audience. President Roosevelt ("Rosenfeld") and Mayor La Guardia ("dirty mongrel") were bitterly assailed by the speakers, several of whom urged physical violence against their persons. But the Jews were the main objects of attack, being blamed for all the ills of the nation and the world. Noting the presence of many telegraph poles on and about the park grounds, the orators repeatedly spoke of the desirability of "stringing up all the Jews ('kikes,' 'mockies,' etc.), on these poles."

What Is Behind the "Christian Front"?

We could describe this "Christian Front" at greater length; we could cite the numerous police records involving disturbances created by the leaders of this movement, which, despite its pretences, is above all anti-American. The true meaning of this Unholy Alliance is perhaps best summed up in the conclusions reached by the Dies Committee on fascist and Nazi activities in the United States, as stated in its recent report:

> In these times, when democracy is harassed from many sides, pee-wee Hitlers, aspiring Fuehrers and would-be Caesars have arisen in our midst urging our people through an unprecedented volume of propaganda to resort to force and violence against large sections of our population.
>
> We call special attention to the deplorable prostitutions of such words as "patriotism" and "Christian" to the selfish ends of these fascist racketeers. . . . Like Hitler, these American Fascists make their chief appeal to the basest forms of race hatred. Like Hitler, they promise to deliver this country from the menace of communism. Like Hitler, they heap scorn upon the institutions of democracy. Like Hitler, they urge the short cuts of force and violence.

It might be remarked that since the signing of the German-Russian non-aggression pact, which ripped the veil from the deceitful claim of Hitler and his American supporters that Naziism was a "defense mechanism" and a "bulwark" against Bolshevism, the ardent attachment of the Christian Front toward its affiliate, the German-American Bund, has shown some signs of cooling. But this apparently will have little effect on the future cooperation between Father Coughlin's "Front" and Hitler's cohorts, since all indications point toward the strategic "disbanding" of the Bund and the assumption by its members of some more respectable guise for their subversive activities. The point should be stressed, we think, that up to now, Father Coughlin's followers have found this flagrantly un-American, anti-democratic organization a completely acceptable comrade in the common cause of breaking down the democratic bulwarks of our nation.

The motive which recently induced the editors of a Catholic periodical of long standing to change its title from "Christian Front" to "Social Action" is an interesting commentary on the Christian Front activity in New York. In an explanatory statement the publisher, Mr. Richard L. G. Deverall, said:

> We find it necessary to change because certain subversive and un-democratic groups with whom we have no common basis have called themselves the Christian Front and have thus associated our magazine with their nefarious activities. . . .

Now that we have described the "Christian Front" and its activities in New York City, we are prepared to explain why this appeal is addressed to you. We present the following data for your consideration:

While the Christian Front is theoretically open to both Catholics and Protestants, it is in fact overwhelmingly Roman Catholic in composition. Competent observers have estimated that, aside from the Nazi Bund, membership in the groups federated under the Christian Front emblem is approximately 90 percent Catholic.

Most of these members regard Father Coughlin as their personal leader, and refer to themselves as Coughlinites. Except for a small group of rowdy adventurers, most of them are sincere, well-meaning citizens misled by the hymns of hate emanating weekly from Royal Oak and almost nightly from the rostrums of Father Coughlin's representatives in New York. Among other things, they have been led to believe that the social and political views of Father Coughlin represent those of the Catholic Church. It must be said that Father Coughlin himself has

sedulously spread this impression. He has used the cloth to good effect in disguising his real aims. His priestly vestments have given him a certain dignity that he could never have attained by virtue of his intemperate, uncharitable and frequently untruthful utterances. Many, if not most, of his followers were initially attracted to him through his clerical authority, believing implicitly that he spoke with the Church's full sanction. What is equally important, many citizens opposed to Father Coughlin and his activities are also convinced that his opinions reflect those of the Church. Ever present is the danger that their attacks therefore will be deflected toward the Church itself.

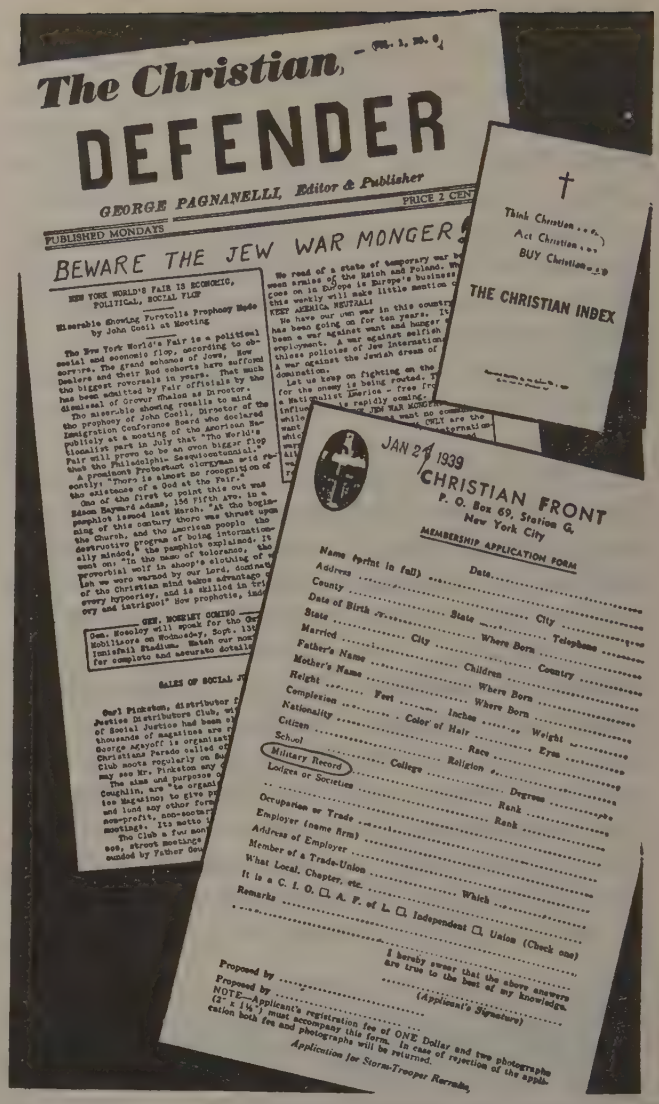
Unfortunately, certain Catholic individuals and periodicals have tended to confirm this impression. Thus, in its issue of July 29th, the Jesuit organ, *America,* stated:

> The attack on Father Coughlin has become in reality an attack on Catholicism!

We believe that this statement, if taken at face value, contains dangerous implications. Does it mean that *America* regards all opposition to Father Coughlin and his particular prejudices as opposition to the Catholic Church? We trust not.

We are certain that such an attitude is not shared by Catholics generally. Many critics of Father Coughlin, including EQUALITY, have ever striven to draw a clear line of distinction between the particular views of this individual and the Catholic Church. We intend to continue this policy. We have opposed anti-Catholicism with the same vigor that we have shown toward all other manifestations of bigotry. One of our very first issues was devoted largely to an exposé and uncompromising condemnation of anti-Catholic movements in this country. Are we to be considered anti-Catholic because we are anti-Coughlinite? Is the recently organized Committee of Catholics for Human Rights, including in its membership many representative and respected Catholics, to be considered as anti-Catholic because it is opposed to Father Coughlin's policies and activities? In contrast to the aforementioned quotation from *America,* we believe the observation previously made by its editor, Rev. Dr. Francis X. Talbot, to approach closer to the truth: "If Father Coughlin is a thorn in the side of the Jews, he is also a thorn in the side of the Catholics. If he is arousing anti-Semitism, he is also arousing anti-Catholicism."

Another factor tending to evoke the mistaken identification of the activities of Father Coughlin and his


The Christian
DEFENDER
GEORGE PAGNANELLI, Editor & Publisher
PUBLISHED MONDAYS
BEWARE THE JEW WAR MONGER
THE CHRISTIAN INDEX
JAN 24 1939
CHRISTIAN FRONT
P. O. Box 69, Station G.
New York City
MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION FORM

Christian Front with the Catholic Church in New York City has been the active support of the movement given by certain priests. The presence of priests on the platforms of Christian Front meetings—as speakers, chairmen and "honored guests"—is not uncommon. Anti-Semitism is a major theme at most of these meetings. Often officials of the Nazi Bund have shared the platform with priests and other Christian Front speakers. Certain clerics in this city have taken an active part in organizing the Christian Front. While these individuals may have a perfect right to participate in such activities in their capacities as private citizens, it is unfortunate that their appearance in priestly vestments and the invariable announcement of their official status in the Catholic Church has led many members of the audiences to look upon them as spokesmen for the Church rather than as private citizens.

Certain churches in New York have become centers of Christian Front activity and headquarters for

the distribution of *Social Justice.* Such, for instance, is the Church of St. Francis of Assisi, on West 31st Street, Manhattan. The Rev. Paul B. Duffee of this church is one of the most active partisans of the Christian Front in New York.

Literature issued by the Christian Front, including its application blanks, has emanated from the Paulist Press [owned by the Paulist Fathers]. Like many similar organizations, the Christian Front has no ascertainable street address, apparently preferring to hide its activities behind a mail-box address. The post-office address of the Christian Front, as revealed in several pieces of its literature, is P. O. Box 69, Station G, New York City, which is held in the name of the Paulist Fathers. The executive secretary of the Christian Front is Mr. Walter Ogden, who was, until a short time ago also secretary of the Paulist Fathers. Meetings of the Christian Front used to be held in the Paulist Rectory, although these have been discontinued. Several members of the Paulist order have been active supporters of the Front, and have engaged in violently anti-Semitic oratory. The Rev. Edward Burke, C.S.P., played a leading part in the founding of the Christian Front in New York City. We understand he has been transferred to another diocese.

We do not mean to accuse the Paulist Order of being anti-Semitic. On the contrary, we know that many members of the Order have waged a valiant struggle against this obnoxious, un-American manifestation. In the very issue in which this open letter appears, we are reprinting an editorial from the Paulist organ, *Wisdom,* which strikes us as one of the most impressive indictments of anti-Semitism. We do wish to point out, however, that certain members of the Order are participating in the activities of the Christian Front.

The post-office address of another Coughlinite organization with highly anti-Semitic leanings, the Crusaders for Christian Social Justice, is (or was until recently) P. O. Box 40, Highbridge, which is held in the name of the Church of St. Francis of Assisi in the Bronx. Father James A. Keeling of this church has been an active participant in meetings held by various Christian Front groups.

The Tablet, official organ of the Brooklyn diocese, is frequently hawked by *Social Justice* distributors at street corners and at Christian Front meetings. This periodical regularly publishes Father Coughlin's radio addresses in full, and also runs a lengthy "Reader's Forum" which reeks with anti-Semitism. It is our opinion that the *Tablet* is as blameworthy as *Social Justice* in its stimulation of religious and social antagonisms, but we are making no detailed analysis of its contents in this letter because we are aware of the fact that it lies outside your jurisdiction. For the same reason we are omitting mention of anti-Semitic, un-American activities of certain Catholic clergymen in Brooklyn and Queens who are under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Brooklyn. However, we deem it significant that the *Tablet* should be sold on the streets of Manhattan by *Social Justice* vendors instead of the *Catholic News,* the organ of the archdiocese of New York.

We would also call your attention to the current confusion evident in some Catholic quarters concerning the meaning of anti-Semitism itself. Some of the most violent Jew-baiters have sought to dodge the Papal stricture against anti-Semitism merely by proclaiming that they are not anti-Semitic, although they ceaselessly attack the Jews as Jews. Others make specious distinctions between "good" Jews and "bad" Jews and claim they only attack the latter, even though their unfavorable comments are, often as not, directed against *the* Jews in general. Still others have advanced the casuistic argument that since the term "Semites" ethnologically includes non-Jews, such as Arabs, they cannot be called anti-Semites because they confine their attacks to the Jews alone!

We are glad to note the increasing awareness among Catholics of the dangerous tenets being propounded by Father Coughlin and his followers. We have been happy to observe the rise and progress of the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights.

However, many good Catholics have hesitated to come out openly on this issue because they are uncertain about the official attitude of the Catholic Church in New York.

In view of the aforementioned circumstances, therefore, we respectfully urge you to clarify the problem by a public statement which unmistakably disassociates the Catholic Church in New York City from the policies and activities of Father Coughlin and his followers in the Christian Front. It is our considered opinion that continued silence on this extremely serious question by the Archbishop of New York will be interpreted as implicit sanction of the Christian Front in this city. On the other hand, the issuance of a public statement, we are sure, would have a most salutary effect in checking a movement threatening to create an anarchic situation in New York City, at the very time of world crisis, when unity is needed more than ever before.

THE EDITORS.

WHAT JEWS DO FOR A LIVING by William Dana Braithwaite

An Economist Shows That Ninety Percent of American Jews Are Workers

A SURVEY in *Fortune* shattered the myth that the "International Jew" controlled finance, industry and trade and held the languishing gentiles in his grip. But although this survey proved that the Jews do *not* control certain keypoints in economic life, it did not make the positive contribution of advising all and sundry what he *does* do for a living. For the myth of the international and omnipotent Jew is a sedulously cultivated fable whereas the more common prejudices of the folk, though much more humble, can be used by the unscrupulous demagogue with equal deadly effect. These myths center about the idea that the Jew hates hard physical work. Furthermore, that he has contempt for the productive life on the soil and that he prefers to sit in his spider cell, called a store, and there fleece the slower-witted but infinitely more honest, stalwart and hard-working specimens of other groups.

Jewish employment varies from country to country. For example, most anti-Semitic agitation in Germany has been based on the fact that the Jewish population was merely one percent of the total: that it was not recruited for a century by a large immigration, that it was depleted by emigration of the poorer and intermarriage of the richer strata, and so a selected urban bourgeoisie played a disproportionate role in the economic life of the country. But in the Czarist Russian Empire, including most of Poland, the contemporary Jews were sunk in a misery so deep that half the population of Wilno arose every morning not knowing how it would obtain breakfast, and a cynical Russian stated that "the only valid law of sociology was that no matter how miserable any people were, the Jew in that country could be more miserable still." In the Rumanian villages, in the hovels of Galicia, in the walled areas of Morocco and the Levant, Jewish poverty was hideous and made worse by the scourging of their fellow "Semites" by the sons of Islam.

The United States affords a very good average example of Jewish employment. The Jewish population is variously calculated, but about four and a half millions seems to be a good working estimate. Of this population, perhaps 600,000 are derived from the German immigration, etc., that preceded 1880. The remaining majority, well over 80 percent, come from the regions east of the Danube, and are nearly all derived from the waves of immigration that followed the wanton May Laws of Alexander III of

Russia in 1881. (I am disregarding Sephardi (Spanish) strains: they are picturesque but minor.) The bulk of the Jewish population is Russo-Polish, or Carpathian (Hungarian-Rumanian), and is derived primarily from small towns in those areas.

Jewish immigration must first be compared, as to time of arrival with every other kind of group immigration. In the Northern states, where the white population consists of chronologically ascertainable layers of immigration, time of arrival is a decisive factor. In the Southern states, whose white population is nearly wholly derived from the British Isles (except for Louisiana), this consideration is not so significant. Now it is a rule that the persons derived from colonial stock, that is from those here before Washington's inauguration, are, by and large, the wealthiest. The great banks, railroads, insurance companies and heavy industries are the fiefs of these ancient feudatories. They took the land first, and with it has gone the miraculous increase of the soil. This "Yankee" population in the cities is in the genteel occupations. It is very often fed by coupons and dividends, and, where employed, rigorously excludes the descendants even of Irish and German immigration (not to mention later Greek, Italian and Jewish), and so is, in a sense, a hereditary caste, protected against the law of competition, or the Napoleonic axiom of "the career open to talents." The anti-Semites never center on this curiously privileged, non-working breed as an example of a non-productive class.

This group is increasingly urban. The native rural population in the caste is being rapidly depleted, and where replaced, it is by French Canadians, Italians and other humble folk. In the West, the Bohemian and Finn are replacing the grand old Yankee stock, which, due to the lapse of time for the acquisition of wealth, is moving rapidly into the cities as an urban *bourgeoisie*.

The American Jews are more than 80 percent derived from the "second immigration," those who have settled here since 1880. The less than 20 percent of the Jews, derived from the earlier immigration, resemble very closely the Yankee and German and older Irish elements that arrived at the time they did. They are the successful Jewish merchants, owners of large emporiums, decorous, conservative, frequently jingoist, sharing all the tastes, habits and prejudices of the upper class gentile population: sympathetic of course to their fellow Jews but frequently stressing duty rather than community of thought and habit.

But the other 80 percent of the Jewish population present a wholly different picture. They are primarily workers, and industrial workers at that. Their proportion of people laboring with their hands, and selling their labor from day to day with no other source of livelihood, is similar to that of all the other elements that have arrived since 1880, the Italians, Balkans, "Bohunks," Poles, etc. This is not the popular picture but it can be proved to the hilt. *In plain words,* the Jew, in this country, does exactly what the Gentile does, given the same length of residence in the United States.

The Jewish population is accused of not being rural. This is a travesty. It is *not* recruited from rural employments in Europe. The ban on land-owning by Jews in countries with a feudal status, the Ghettoes in cities to which Jews were confined, made either tenure or usufruct of the soil forbidden to a whole people. Despite these vicious restrictions, a sizable number of Jews found their way to the land. But in the United States, where no such inequalities existed and where several Jewish funds and organizations encouraged this movement, and where excellent farm schools were established, the hunger for the land could better be indulged. So here the Jews, an urban people, have shown a tendency to enter farming; one of the rare instances in history where this has occurred. There are in this country about a hundred thousand Jewish farmers today. With their families they comprise about a tenth to a twelfth of the entire Jewish population. The American rural population is about 32 percent. But note: The Jew has settled primarily in the Northern states: in the North the rural population among gentiles is less than 18 percent. Hence a city-born Jewish immigration in less than two generations has more than half made up the heritage of the older rural gentile populations derived from the feudal farms of Western Europe and subject to three

centuries of development in this country. *Hence the Jewish urban immigration, if compared with the British, Irish, German or Polish urban immigration, shows a greater tendency to take up farming than any other, with the possible exception of the urban Italian.*

Thus two myths are exploded and it is established that the native American (more even than the immigrant) is disinclined towards engaging in common labor, the degree of his antipathy depending on the length of residence of his stock in this country, and that the Jew is more drawn to the plough than the gentile, despite his lack of training. To those who have seen the valiant struggle of the Jewish colonists in Palestine to root themselves on the land and to reproduce the plenty of the Biblical metaphor, this striving will not seem strange.

What proof is there that the Jewish urban population is as much of a working-class character as other gentile groups of comparable length of residence? Many figures have been attempted, from the masterly survey of Hourwich in *Immigration and Labor* in 1913 to the painstaking efforts of the Conference on Jewish Relations in New York to whose conscientious compilations I am much indebted. There are gaps in the evidence: there are some assumptions not wholly proved, but none where the margin of error would vitiate a single significant conclusion in this article.

The Jewish population of Greater New York is about 28 percent of the population, in despite of the legend that they are in the majority. Practically all estimates converge about this percentage. Now there are about 3,400,000 people in the city who are considered "gainful workers." That includes working employers and managers, but excludes those that have property but do not labor. It also, for some strange reason, excludes housewives. Pin-money and household-money is not considered "gainful."

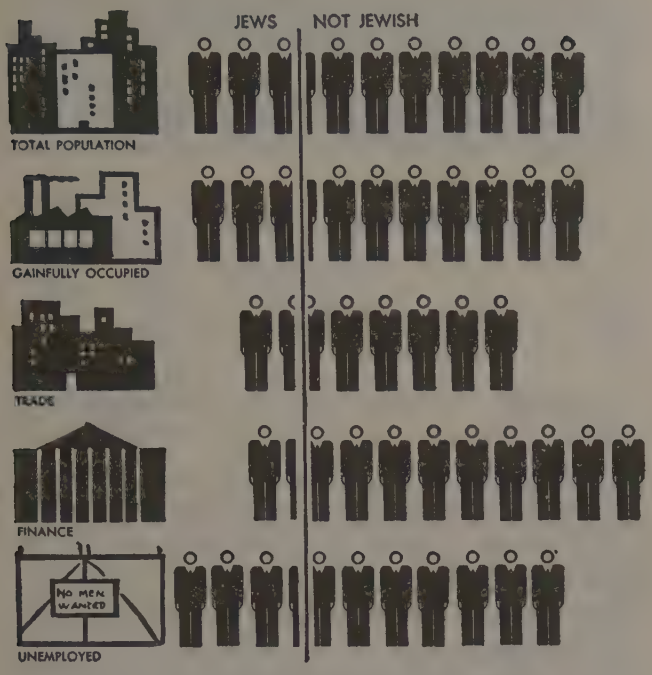
Now of this laboring population, about 27.4 percent are Jews! That is, they are about the proportion of the working population their figures would lead us to expect. Among the workers engaged in manufacturing, where arduous labor is required, they are more than a third or in excess of their proportion! Thus the theory that they are work-shy is more than refuted. Rather, they are a group of the hardest toiling workers and proportionately fewer of them escape their working class lot than occurs among Gentiles.

What is their proportion of employers and employees? That is, how many Jews employ other persons and how many depend on others for their bread? Take manufacturing. Everyone who goes through midtown New York sees any number of Jewish names in the loft areas, covering thousands of peanut enterprises. Let us not ask how much money is really represented by this mass of petty enterprises but consider merely the master and servant relation. There are in all manufacturing 20,000 Jewish employers and 214,000 Jewish employees. Now, as in these industries one is dealing not with immense factories but mostly with petty enterprises, the fact that *over 91 percent of Jews work for others* is illuminating.

How about trade? Here the figures seem superficially more favorable. In New York 573,000 persons derive their living from trade or its subsidiary services. Here the proportion of Jews is higher, that is in excess of their population proportion. It is 41 percent for 28 percent of the people. But in the wholesale trade it is only 33 percent as against an average expectation of 28 percent, an extremely slight variation. In proportion, then, as *capital* is required, the Jew is less met with. This proportion carries through for Jewish employers as well. They constitute 68 percent of all employers in retail trades but only 53 percent in wholesale trades. This is the reverse of the story that the Jew has all the money. For in all provinces from manufacturing to trade, it is a rough generalization that the presence of Jews is in inverse ratio to the amount of capital required: in other words, they are "peanut capitalists"! In trade, too, where the Jew is supposed to enter on the slightest provocation, we find that there are 67,000 Jewish employers to 167,000 Jewish employees. But this favorable ratio is due to retail trade: wholesale trade that requires far greater capital shows 7,000 Jewish employers to 63,000 workers: in other words over 90 percent of Jews work for the other fellow!

But the high proportion of Jews in trade might be supposed to indicate that there is some basis to the popular prejudice. Let us examine the figure closely. In the wholesale trade, the Jewish employers are comparatively rare. In the retail trade, most of the so-called employers are not employers at all but are merely engaged in business. What businesses? Tailoring, pressing, and cleaning, little laundries, "candy-stores," the omnipresent soda and newsstand, huckstering, customer-peddling, and above all the precarious lunch-counter and family grocery stores, struggling desperately for margins of the most meager profit. This Jewish retailer is a miserable wretch, unprotected by trade unions as to hours and wages, working inhuman hours, making a miserable living, usually ill, and it is this last reject of the older competitive system that is called an "employer." If you took 100,000 of these enterprises (including the

JEWS OF GREATER NEW YORK



Each symbol represents 10% of the population

PICTORIAL STATISTICS, INC.

sweated labor of their families), their gross income, before they ate, would be less than the earnings of many single important industrial concerns quoted on the New York Stock Exchange! Such persons are not merely workers: their income is less than that of skilled workers. What they have invested is not capital but saved labor-time, the bread they failed to eat—"intestine money" is what my Jewish friends tell me the Yiddish graphic phrase for it.

Where are the Jews underrepresented? In the Public Utilities. Here, of course, stark prejudice and discrimination are the causes. Also in the public service. These "safe civil service jobs" to which the "smart" Jew is supposed to be drawn attracts him less than it does the average American. How about that bugbear, finance? Here the Jew represents less than 12 percent, or less than half his proper population proportion. It may be argued that he is an employer, an exploiter, not a worker. But he is not even that. He represents about 16 percent of these employers as against his population proportion of 28 percent.

Everyone knows that the great banks of New York, and many of the insurance companies fight shy of Jewish help. The 160,000 Gentiles who work for these financial institutions can hardly speak of the Jewish opposition to them for there is scarcely any Jewish employer, especially in the giant insurance concerns, those great hives of white collar workers.

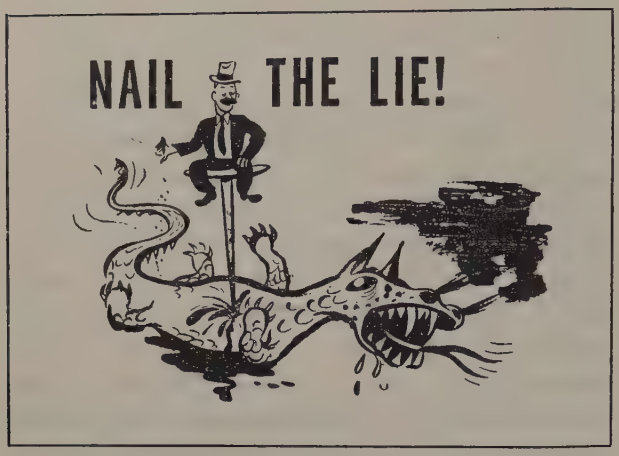
How about the unemployed? Do the Jews favor their own as against others? If they do, it must be an occult process. For despite the fact that Jewish employers are slightly higher than the population proportion (not by capital but by numbers), the unemployed among Jews are 20 percent greater than for the total population! *The myth that unemployment can partly be traced to Jewish favoritism for their own folks is certainly blown sky-high.*

The Jew is under-represented in certain industries, such as construction, and over-represented in the needle trades, etc., but these are all cases of social skill and training in certain fields. They do not relate to intensity of labor. Even in the most purely muscular activities in the open air and in great factories, the Jewish representation is surprisingly high for a people trained to the artisan trades rather than to industrial techniques. In glass works, chemical, etc., they are at least as commonly represented heavy workers as their neighbors.

They are most abundant, as the popular impression holds, in the professions. They are consistenly over-represented as doctors, lawyers, dentists, actors, musicians. But what does this point to? To an investment in labor-time. The great majority of these professionals are the sons of poor immigrant workers. The picture of their development, celebrated by Fanny Hurst, is not sentimentalism, it is exact economic history. Like the petty retailer, they represent over-long hours, many years of attendance at night schools, poor food, a joyless life and endless toil. Back of every shingle is a sacrificed generation. Every dollar taken by most physicians of Russian-Jewish extraction was paid for with two dollars worth of organic disease of his self-sacrificing parents. It was the want of capital that made young Jolson and Cantor the idols of Tin-pan alley, that put Irving Berlin to piano strumming. Had they been well-to-do they would have been "junior" or even "so and so the third," who meets you in priestly morning clothes in the high precincts of Wall Street. When the time and labor required to produce this professional class are counted and their real average net income is stated, it will be seen that they represent on the whole a capital loss to their families! This, despite a few celebrated exceptions.

All that represents economic power in the United States, the Morgan banks, the Mellon empire, the Dupont empire, the Rockefeller realms, the Fords, the whole sweep of heavy industry, all this is almost without a Jewish tinge. Nor is it merely a question of *money.* The heavy industry of any country is the true

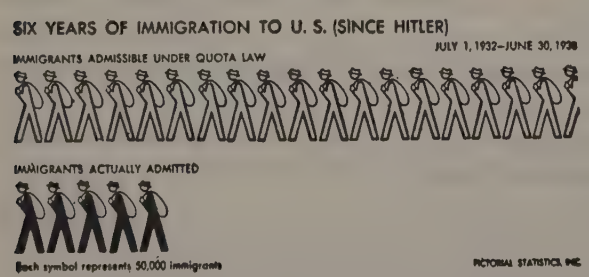
(*Continued on page* 25)



Fair Play for the Refugees

A WHISPERING campaign is being waged relentlessly against refugees in the United States. Rumors are rampant: refugees are flooding the country, refugees are displacing our own workers, refugee doctors are glutting the already over-crowded medical field. In short, refugees are intensifying our economic distress. The next time, however, should anyone try to impress you with one of these custom made myths, confront him with the following *facts:*

Lie No. 1: The number of refugees, far from being large, is embarrassingly small. Between July 1, 1932, and June 30, 1939, the total number of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant immigrants from Germany did not exceed 75,000. These are the figures of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. A further glimpse into the official statistics reveals another surprising fact: for the seven-year period mentioned above, the total number of immigrants to the United States was 241,962 while 246,449 immigrants previously admitted left the country. The truth is then that the refugees have in actuality not increased our population at all.


SIX YEARS OF IMMIGRATION TO U. S. (SINCE HITLER)
JULY 1, 1932–JUNE 30, 1938
IMMIGRANTS ADMISSIBLE UNDER QUOTA LAW
IMMIGRANTS ACTUALLY ADMITTED
Each symbol represents 50,000 immigrants
PICTORIAL STATISTICS, INC.

Lie No. 2: The refugees are *not* displacing our workers. As a matter of fact they have done much to create new jobs. The evidence that more than 40 percent of the refugees are under 21 or over 45 and that 50.4 percent are females means that they have increased the number of consumers, not wage-earners. In addition some of them have brought with them capital and special skills which have resulted in the transference of manufacturing patents from Germany and Central Europe to the United States. In New Jersey, for example, about fifty Americans are employed by a refugee who initiated the manufacture of a flexible synthetic resin for tubing. Three refugees who used to export stockings to this country now operate a woolen hosiery mill in Lawrence, Mass., where forty Americans have been given employment.

Lie No. 3: We must expose here the vicious rumor that has been used to stir up anti-Semitic feeling throughout the country. It is asserted with a knowing smile and a sly wink that the department stores have fired American employees by the hundreds and replaced them with refugees. The executives of all the important stores in New York City have published sworn affidavits that deny any basis in fact to these rumors. In Pittsburgh the Better Business Bureau initiated a study of the employment of refugees in all the large department stores by a committee of clubwomen and prominent communal leaders. The report showed that of 8,000 full-time employees not one was a refugee and of 3,000 part-time employees only seven were refugees. The report concludes "that the simultaneous circulation of these rumors in every large city of the United States strongly suggests that subversive groups have inspired this whispering campaign in an attempt to stir racial prejudice and unrest."

Lie No. 4: The alleged invasion by refugee doctors of the American medical field is a grotesque joke. Remember that Hitler made it difficult for doctors to leave because he needed them for war purposes. Between 1934 and 1938 a little more than 1,500 doctors came to the United States, about 35 percent of them Christian and about 65 percent Jewish or of Jewish extraction. When you consider that there are at present 170,000 physicians in the United States and that their number in relation to the total population is decreasing (1 to 784 in 1934), you will not find it difficult to agree with the conclusion of the Boston Committee on Medical Emigres: "It appears likely that, if a thorough-going search of this country's unfilled medical needs were made, all of these men who have arrived or may arrive here and whom we consider competent would be absorbed without difficulty and to the distinct advantage of institutions and communities which otherwise go without the services they can provide."

HALL OF SHAME

HAM FISH

What Was Your Porpoise, Mr. Fish?

THERE was more method than paranoia when Congressman Ham Fish began to flutter dove-like over the foreign ministries of Germany, England and France with a tender sprig of peace in his mouth. He said plaintively that no one was "trying to solve the Danzig problem by peaceful means." Apparently he thought that the role of the Prince of Peace became his gentle disposition well, for he offered his single-handed services as mediator in the Danzig dispute.

He had heart-to-heart talks with Viscount Halifax in London and with Bonnet in Paris. In Salzburg he was the guest of Nazi Foreign Minister Ribbentrop who made much of him and graciously sent him off to Berlin in a government plane. To newspapermen who met him on his arrival in the German capital he stated that "the Nazi claims [against Poland] are just." Mr. Fish championed the Nazi cause much more eloquently in an interview he granted Mr. Edgar Ansel Mowrer, the well-known Chicago *Daily News* correspondent in Paris:

Mowrer: If you were British what would you do now?

Fish: I would let Hitler go ahead in Eastern Europe. Naturally, if he attacked France, Switzerland or Holland I would fight immediately. But why shouldn't Germany expand to the East? The more Germany trades with the East the better.

Mowrer: Suppose the Germans want merely to vassalize the Eastern European States?

Fish: I do not see why Britain should oppose German expansion eastward.

Mowrer: Then you would give Hitler a free hand?

Fish: So long as he stuck to Central and Eastern Europe, Yes.

The "Leader of the Ostrich Block," as he is called in the House for his bellicose "isolationism," caused a minor flurry of alarm and suspicion throughout Europe. For when the vultures begin to bill and coo the other birds tremble. When he advanced his plan for a thirty-day armistice and a conference between Germany, Italy, Britain and France before the Interparliamentary Union Congress at Oslo, President Hambro of the Norwegian Parliament spoke out scathingly: "We must not give the world the impression that we are willing to contribute to another Munich."

Now what really could have been Mr. Fish's objective in all this? Dorothy Thompson with her caustic tongue in her cheek was also puzzled. She commented: "No Fish goes out to sea without a porpoise."

What, indeed, was Mr. Fish's porpoise?

The Wilhelmstrasse and No. 10 Downing Street probably hold the answer, but as a dead state secret.

HALL OF FAME

MAGISTRATE MICHAEL FORD

Courageous Interpreter of the Law

WE nominate a judge loyal to the spirit and intent of the Bill of Rights to EQUALITY's Hall of Fame for his just and courageous interpretation of the law in decisions involving Jew-baiters.

In New York City a *Social Justice* saleswoman was brought before Magistrate Michael Ford for shouting insults against the Jewish people. Magistrate Ford declared:

"I think you are one of the most contemptible individuals who was ever brought into my courtroom. You remind me of a witch-burner of the Middle Ages.

"I take it you are a Roman Catholic. I am a Catholic myself and I am ashamed of you.

"My parents, like yours, came to this country to escape oppression. If it can be directed against people of another religion, it can be directed against those of yours and mine.

"There is no place in this free country for a person who entertains the narrow, bigoted, intolerant ideas that you have in your head.

"He who instills such ideas in your head, be he a priest or anyone else, does not belong in this country."

HE WHO LIVETH BY THE SWORD

by Ernst Waldinger

An Outstanding Viennese Poet's Eye-Witness Account of Nazi Invasion

THERE is a limit to human receptivity for horror. I was very much impressed when Oprecht, the Swiss publisher, told the German writers in exile to be scrupulously careful in the doses of the truth they handed out. As with badly mixed drugs, its effect might be harmful.

I have no horrors to tell. No one I shall mention had "a hair touched on his head," to use the phrase made famous in the Nazi press after Hitler's assumption of power. I shall tell only of spiritual martyrs. Yet the exclamation I hear most often from people when I tell such stories, is: "How could they have endured it!"

The Nazis despise the moral concept of the human being. They misuse Nietzsche's term *superman,* but that is their affair. The inferior status they assign to the Jews is to be taken even less seriously, since it is done by *inhuman* beings. However, one cannot but be shocked by their contempt for the spirit, the most characteristic element in man, at a time when they engage in considerable hocus-pocus about "instinct" and "pure" blood, the latter important only in animal breeding, and they dwell on "soil," which concerns only plants.

But I must begin my story: I belong to the World War generation. Like most youngsters of my age, naturally including Jews, I enlisted, leaving school to enter the army. After a short period of training I was sent to the front. But of my age group barely half are alive today.

Perhaps those youths who lie slumbering in the common graves of the war-dead are better off than we who survived. Though perhaps not always physically crippled we have been spiritually mangled, have had to endure the long struggle with unemployment only to be smitten by the scourge of fascism. My comrades certainly did not die for the ideals which are honored today in Germany. Lieutenant Kohn or Sergeant-Major Levy, buried somewhere in Poland or at Verdun, have had their names scratched off the memorials. But how much better off are they than we who are pining away in exile or are condemned to live in the Nazi hell!

When the World War broke out I was in my last year at a Vienna Gymnasium. I was eager to enlist in the army. But my resolve was not as easily carried out as that of my patriotic fellow-students. It was hard to get the consent of my parents for voluntary enlistment; it was harder still to convince the examining physician that an ailment resulting from a fall when I was a child would not interfere with my military service. Normally I would not have been obliged to enter the army for several years to come. But my conscience did not permit me to hide behind an infirmity which really did not hamper me. It drove me to volunteer.

After two years in the trenches I was heavily wounded by shrapnel which pierced my left temple and tore open my shoulder. Since then my right hand and the right side of my face have been paralyzed. For long, terrible weeks I was also without power of speech; my speech center had been injured.

One can see from all this that my life in the years that have passed has not been a bed of roses exactly. Yet I managed to finish my studies at the University in time. I went to work, married, and became the father of two children. In short, outside the world of fantasy in which I lived as a poet, I succeeded rather well in carrying on the daily existence of a normal, upright citizen. That I was a poet of some attainment may be deduced from the fact that even the Nazi literary critics, despite that they knew of my Jewish descent (something which I never denied), treated my writing respectfully.

Everything would have gone along at its usual pace had I not become very ill. My illness entered into its critical period simultaneously with the entry of the Hitler legions into Austria. The reader will have to forgive me for dwelling rather lengthily on the dreary account of my own ailments and on the mutilations suffered by those of my poor Jewish war comrades, many of whom are unfortunate enough to be still liv-

ing in Nazi Germany. It will lead up to a significant climax in my story.

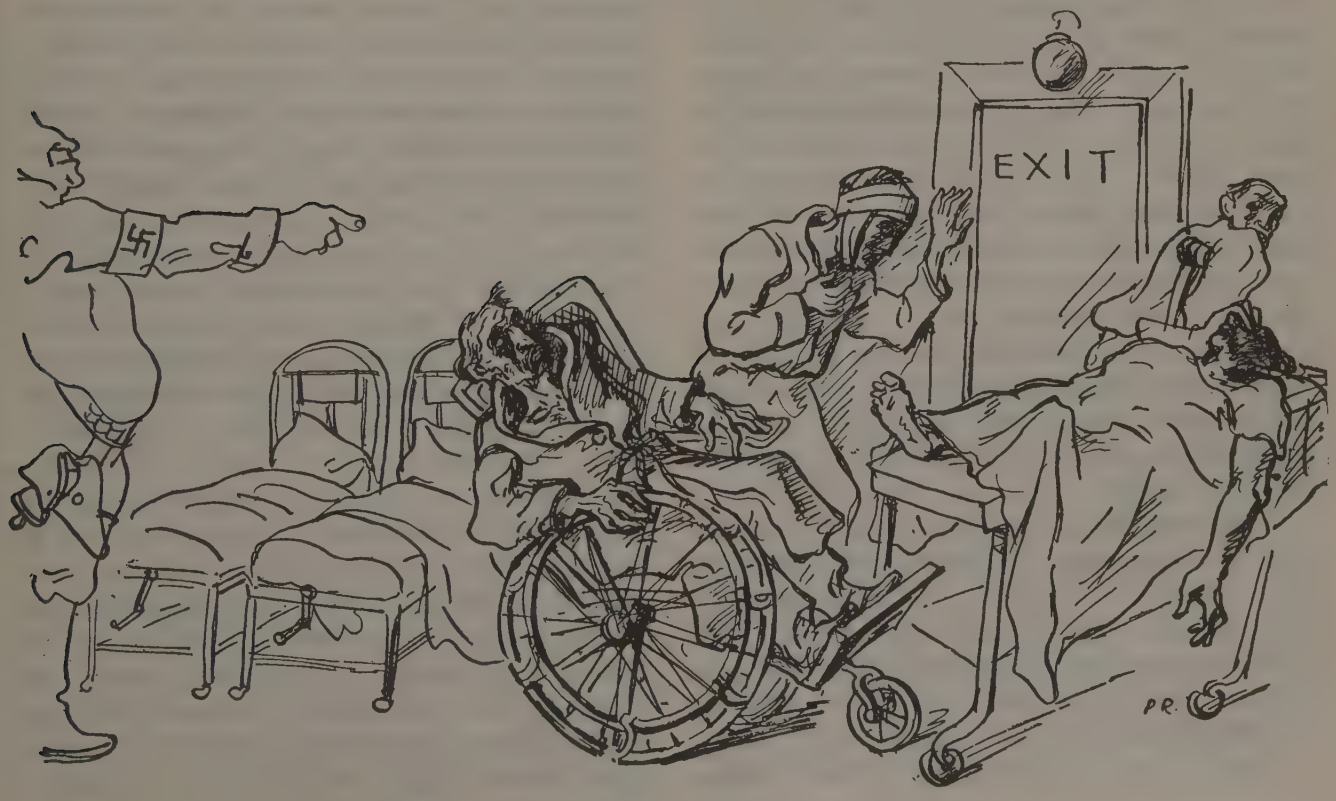
At the beginning of 1937 I suddenly felt stinging pains under my right arm-pit. I paid no attention to them; for twenty years I had been used to physical discomfort. But when the pains became more acute and more persistent, I consulted a doctor. An X-ray showed no lung injury. When I returned from a holiday in the Jugoslavian Alps, I began to suffer suddenly from intense pains throughout my entire body; none of my limbs functioned properly. If I wanted to walk, some mysterious restraint took hold of my legs. I could walk only very slowly; my feet felt like lumps of lead.

In February, 1938, on the day when President Schuschnigg made his Austrian Federation speech, the chief of a neurological institute—he was the fourteenth physician I had consulted in two months—took me into his hospital for examination and observation. Political tension in Vienna had become unbearable, so had my pains. After the excruciating procedure my medical examinations involved, a spinal tumor was discovered. They tried to tell me the operation was going to be very simple. That was on March 11, two days before the real plebiscite was to take place. Austria was in a state of seething excitement. That evening one of the Jewish internes at the hospital hurried in and whispered, gasping with disgust: "Schuschnigg has retreated—the plebiscite has been called off! Seyss-Inquart has undertaken to form a new government."

The next morning, after a deliriously painful night —I always had to drug myself heavily to sleep—I dragged myself to the window and saw the swastika flying on the roof of the hospital; the institution had been built by socialist funds. Several hours later a famous surgeon from a neighboring hospital sat jovially and quietly at my bedside, and we decided to go through with the operation on the following Tuesday.

The next day—it was Sunday—the hospital was in a state of bedlam. Nurses dashed back and forth. The Jewish doctors (the last remaining ones in all Vienna) had disappeared. The secret Nazi cell, of many years standing, demanded control of the hospital. Hitler's vanguard—or rather a part of it—had been given quarters here, and since they could not be expected to tolerate the presence of Jews, all Jewish patients were forced to leave the building at once. I shall never forget the face of a fellow patient when he was wheeled out past me. He was suffering from multiple sclerosis, but despite its paralysis amazement and fear contorted his face.

Although the head physician was forced to face a revolver throughout the entire telephone conversation he was making on my behalf, he nevertheless managed to secure a bed for me in the city hospital.



I crawled to a taxi which brought me to my destination more dead than alive. Yes, indeed, no hair on my head had been touched. But the shock of that day will last longer and prove more damaging than if I had been physically assaulted.

The month I spent in the surgical ward of the city hospital can be glossed over in a few sentences, but it was very interesting psychologically. The operation was a brilliant success. The famous surgeon who undertook it treated me very considerately afterward also. But even today I suffer from a hallucinatory noise when I think back to that hour. I hear the steady roar of the motors and propellers of hundreds of Nazi war planes zooming over the plundered city of Vienna and together with it the grinding of the electrical knife as it sawed through my vertebra.

The din of propaganda in the ward in which I lay can hardly be described. Helplessly we were subjected to reports of the doings on the streets over the radio and in the newspapers. Is it any wonder then that some of my fellow-patients, raging anti-Nazis at the beginning, began to show signs of a sympathetic interest? After a month's stay in the hospital I was asking myself dubiously: "Am I crazy? Perhaps they are right after all!" All the more remarkable were those who were not led astray and resisted. I recall a pious Catholic, who was insulted daily by the Nazis but who kept on repeating: "They will not make a fool of me! I don't change my religion like a dirty shirt." My ward neighbor at the right, an old, exhausted foundry worker, finished every political debate by saying: "I am a social democrat and always will remain one." The young apprentice on the other side of me foresaw the consequences of the political change clearly. "I shall certainly find work now," he said ungleefully, "but we shall pay heavily and with blood for this kind of employment." At night the nuns, who trusted me, came in stealthily and poured out their anxious hearts to me.

A few days after the fake plebiscite, I crossed the city to enter a second neurological institute for convalescent care. I could hardly recognize Vienna. As a current joke had it, it looked like the dress of a mad paperhanger.

The relative peace I was enjoying at the moment gave me the opportunity to acquaint myself with the new circumstances of my life. I still believed that I, an invalid war veteran, would be permitted to stay in Vienna with my family. But when I left the hospital I realized for the first time the true state of affairs in our Nazified city.

I lived in one of the well-known communal houses in Vienna. On the first floor lived another war invalid—U.—the epitome of human ruin. A shot in the spine had paralyzed both his legs; he could move about only in a wheel-chair. Possibly as a result of the acute pain he still suffered, he had recently developed angina pectoris. U. had been an employee of the War Invalids Union until the recent occurrences. He made many efforts in my behalf after I came home from the hospital.

Those who know Vienna remember the tobacco shops, called *Tobaktrafiken.* In Austria the manufacture of smoking materials and the sale of tobacco was a state monopoly ever since it was organized 150 years ago under Joseph II by a Jew named Hönig. The posts at the stations had always been given to pensioned state employees and their widows. Since the end of the war invalid war veterans had been given preference. Among these were twelve Jews who had been blinded in the war. In addition there were a substantial number of Jewish veterans who had been crippled in other ways. Among the blind Jews was a man who had won every war decoration obtainable. Another blind Jewish veteran was the attorney for the War Invalids Union. He had finished his studies after he was blinded and yet managed to carry on the affairs of the Union brilliantly. Though there had long been some anti-Jewish feeling, no one had thought of ousting him.

A particularly pitiful case was that of the Jewish Lieutenant H. A hand grenade had destroyed not only his sight, but both his hands. He carried on gallantly. One summer I saw him dancing. Through his darkened glasses he smiled to his partner, who led him gently through the steps of the dance while his black-gloved artificial hands rested on her hips. Eventually I heard what had happened to him. My neighbor H. told me that all Jewish war invalids, even the blind ones, had been deprived of their tobacco posts. Even the blind attorney who had been directing the legal affairs of the Union was given notice at once. Lieutenant H., who was the sole support of his wife, children and an old mother, asked for special consideration because of his degree of mutilation. Once, during a congress of war veterans in Paris, his appearance had moved Briand to tears. But the Nazi commissioner turned him down. When he asked him whether he would indorse a telegraphic appeal to Hitler, a remarkable conversation ensued between them. Its contents were subsequently passed from mouth to mouth in significant whispers in Vienna. May this conversation remain forever, even after the disappearance of the Nazi plague, as an argument

against any attempt to speak gently of it! It ran as follows:

"Shall I send the telegram?"

"That is for you to decide, but it will bring you nothing."

"How do you know that?"

"You see, the telegram will go from Hitler to Burkel, because that is the rule, Burkel will give it to me, because the tobacco posts are my department, and I will refuse. You may therefore save yourself time and money."

"But what will happen to us? When I got the tobacco post, my wife had a prosperous dressmaking shop. She will not get permission to reopen it."

"Where did you get the idea that your wife must sew dresses in Austria? Even you can sell cigarettes in Tarnopol (Poland) as well as in Vienna."

"Then you advise me to emigrate?"

"I shall be the last to detain you."

The Jewish tenants of the communal houses were given notice. My family was the first forced to move. That was how my fatherland rewarded my services to it! However, my being dispossessed did not matter much because I was getting ready to leave anyway. I continued to visit my neighbor U. He made me promise to help him when I got out. He certainly had queer ideas. He wanted to write to President Roosevelt, who surely would sympathize with him, he said. U. was not a Jew; he had only one Jewish grandfather. His wife was a full "Aryan." Yet the tobacco post was taken away from him. U. had been born in war territory. The parish house in which the birth of his parents was registered had burned down. In such cases an oath usually sufficed. But U. had the misfortune to occupy a particularly profitable tobacco post, coveted by a Nazi. All his efforts were therefore in vain. U. threatened to commit suicide unless his "Aryan" wife were permitted to retain the post. Thereupon he was considerately reminded that he would only be endangering her widow's pension. Widows were entitled to pensions only when the death of their husbands came as a result of war injuries. . . .

In August, 1938, I left for the United States. My pension was to have been deposited in an untouchable account in postal savings. It would have had only a theoretical value anyway, yet it was not done. On the other hand, I received an official command to change my name from Ernst to *Israel*. Lower than that the Nazi beast could not sink.

Together with thousands of other refugees from Nazi Germany I have lived through untold agonies and trials, and if we have survived at all it is only because man's spirit and love of freedom and truth are indestructible and unyielding. *Der Tag* once came for Hitler six years ago but an infinitely greater *Tag* of reckoning is coming soon for the German people. This is not a mere wish-fulfillment thought but a certainty based on a knowledge of the upright German character and intelligence. The Second World War which the criminal incendiary Hitler has started now will prove to be the funeral pyre for him and the Nazi regime. They who live by the sword shall die by the sword. *But the German people will throw off the Nazi yoke and become free and great once more!*

WHAT JEWS DO FOR A LIVING

(*Continued from page* 19)

industrial employer. *The one percent of corporations that control this country employ over two-thirds of its industrial workers.* They alone really employ labor as a mass: they most of all fear its demands. What is more appropriate than that they deflect attention from their concealed corporate structure and fasten the glance of their victims on the widespread shingles of the Jewish people? It worked in Germany. In October, 1932, the last free election, only 23 percent of males voted for Hitler but over 36 percent of women. They used the shopping psyche against the Jewish-owned department stores to counter-act the brute fact of mass industrial employment by Gentiles.

The industrial insurance companies that take away the billions of the poor in lapsed policies are housed in stately and anonymous companies. Why should not they, and all the other giant institutions that have Money and Capital, not deflect the hatred of their victims to the retailing Jews whose principal assets consist of labor-time, street signs and debts? Is it not necessary to conceal from the worker the fact that the Jew has the same proportion of ordinary hard workers, the same mass of people in exactly the same situation as the industrial worker of any other group? It is to be hoped that the exposure of this myth will be continued, for it is more important than the more melodramatic lies of the reactionaries and anti-Semites.

The Jews may or may not be the chosen people of God: they are certainly the chosen scapegoats of history. If they did not exist, it would be necessary for the traducers and oppressors of mankind to invent them.

EDITORIALS

Coughlin's Retreat Is His Defeat

LET the "isolationist" skeptics and the timid take notice: an aroused and militant public opinion forced Coughlin to cancel his plans for a mammoth anti-Jewish parade and rally in New York. What had been planned as an overwhelming demonstration of fascist strength in America modelled upon Nazi sawdust circuses, turned into a rout. The priestly falsifier of Catholicism was forced to retreat before the anger of an outraged community. The Mayor and the Police Commissioner of New York literally were inundated by protests from civic, veteran and patriotic organizations, from trade unions and from church bodies, from individual men and women in all walks of life: Catholic, Protestant and Jew—Republican, Democrat and Laborite. All expressed the same indignation and the will that the streets of New York were not to be the stage for treasonable mouthings and incitations to hatred and violence.

For many weeks the *Social Justice* agents in the metropolis were preparing for *Der Tag*. They were beating up their ballyhoo drums with all their might. The various fascist organizations formed a united front for the occasion; the Christian Front, Christian Mobilizers, Silver Shirts, Crusaders, and the Nazi Bund began to round up their followers. Speakers at the meetings of these organizations gave significant and melodramatic hints to their audiences about getting ready for "August 19th." There were open suggestions that "Christians" were to come to the rally armed "to defend" themselves against possible attack by "Jewish gangsters and criminals."

As one would naturally expect, the methods of the fascists were as stupid as they were vicious. Their sinister mutterings swept through the city like wildfire. The entire community became alarmed and took action with the results already noted.

What made Coughlin's retreat more ignominious was the way he backed out of the whole business. He went through the bare-faced pretense that he had nothing to do with the parade that had been planned. It has always been convenient that the fascist right hand should not know what the left hand is doing. So, with a law-abiding smirk, he proceeded to wash his hands of the entire affair. Through his New York legal representative, Bernard T. D'Arcy, he issued the following statement to the press:

"Neither I, nor *Social Justice* Magazine, of which I am editorial counsel, approve of this parade. In fact, we heartily disapprove of it. In the interests of law and order I ask all true followers of social justice to absent themselves from this public demonstration."

Suffice it that the stop signal from the Supreme Fuehrer in Detroit put an end to the plans for the parade. It was more than a retreat for him; it was a smashing defeat!

The Dies Committee Goes on the Fritz

ON September 15th Fritz Kuhn, the American Fuehrer, appeared before the Dies Committee. No real American can entertain any illusions about Kuhn's German American Bund. Certainly Congressman Dies should not be guilty of doing so. Less than a year ago he had an opportunity to follow the German espionage trial. He knows that a group of Kuhn's closest collaborators had prepared to flee from the courtroom with Ignatz T. Griebl and place themselves under the protection of the chief Fuehrer of the Third Reich.

Since the Dies Committee was proceeding to investigate the activities of Kuhn and his so-called Bund, the question which all those concerned asked was this: Will this Committee really lay bare all the conspirational threads with which Nazi Germany has enmeshed this country? Will it clearly and unmistakably disclose the relations between Kuhn, his organization, and a foreign power? No wonder that Kuhn's appearance before the Committee was anticipated by the public with tense concern. But what actually happened? Kuhn, puffed up with the belief that he had nothing to fear, strutted before the Committee like a true German hero out of a Wagner opera. Every inch a Fuehrer!

The method of examination in itself had ironic implications. In view of the trial of last year, one might have anticipated that Kuhn would be asked what funds he received, directly or indirectly, from the propaganda coffers of Nazi Germany. Instead he was asked what funds he had turned over to Germany. Kuhn proudly replied that he had turned over three thousand dollars to Hitler for his Winter Relief Fund. If we extend the logic of this reply, we must accept the following travesty: Kuhn is not the agent of Hitler; on the contrary, it is Hitler who is the agent of Kuhn. So it is not Hitler who would

conquer America, but Kuhn, the stalwart American patriot, would conquer Germany for America!

Of course Kuhn has no connection whatsoever with Hitler and the Nazis—so he definitely asserted before the Committee. He admitted in the same breath, however, that he was personally received by Hitler in 1936, and that his coworker, Griebl, who fled to the Third Reich, was in no way associated with Hitler or the Nazis. Hitler's reception of Kuhn should therefore be regarded as mere curiosity. Why Griebl, free of any Nazi association, should have fled to the Third Reich remains a deep dark mystery. The fact that Kuhn is an anti-Semite, that the program of his organization is virtually identical with that of the National Socialist Party in Germany, is obviously pure accident. The confession that he had destroyed membership lists and accounting records revealed nothing more, we presume, than a playful touch of pyromania.

Following the examination of Kuhn, one of his closest ex-lieutenants, Miss Helen Vooros, testified. She unveiled a somewhat different picture of the character of the Bund, its Fuehrer, and the sub-Fuehrer in the Third Reich. Out of her testimony it appears—to put it mildly—that Kuhn was guilty of slight misrepresentation. He was received in Berlin not only by Hitler but by Herr Goebbels, the Propaganda Minister, as well. His subordinates, among them Miss Vooros, had the same good fortune. The real purpose of training the youth in Bund camps was the conquest of America for Hitler. What other conclusion is possible but that these youths and the Bund must be regarded as the agents of a hostile foreign power, Nazi Germany, bent on undermining the foundations of American democracy?

Since we are dealing with an organization in which nothing is done without the consent of the Fuehrer, one must assume that Kuhn was also informed about the facts revealed by Miss Vooros. How come that he concealed this information when under oath? Was it not the duty of the Dies Committee, and is it not even more so the duty of the Federal Government, to clarify these contradictions and to take this opportunity to examine a little closer the relations between Fritz Kuhn and Charles E. Coughlin?

Democracy—For Bankers and Brokers

THE Congress on Education for Democracy was called by Columbia's Teachers' College Lay Council to consider the part to be played by schools in the "defense and advance of democracy." No less than twenty-eight lay organizations were invited to attend. However, the delegates from these organizations met in sixteen closed seminars. The invited general public was not permitted to be present, much less participate, in the discussion at these seminars.

The reactionary complexion of the Congress on Education for Democracy, however, was plainly revealed in the official speeches that were broadcast over the radio and widely publicized in the press. All the speakers gave lip-service to democracy. Others, however, were more specific. Thus, Mr. H. W. Prentis Jr., vice-president of the reactionary National Association of Manufacturers, declared himself against "more and more democracy." He even claimed that the United States was never intended to be a democracy but a republic.

Dean Russell himself denounced those who "advocate complete economic equality fatal to democratic life." Nevertheless at the one public session on the Contribution of Religion to Education for Democracy one speaker after another declared that much talk about democracy is valueless unless we first solve the problem of economic insecurity, and that to solve the problem of unemployment and malnutrition in a land of potential plenty was the real task for those who would preserve democracy. As Dr. John W. Studebaker, U. S. Commissioner of Education said, "We are off on the wrong foot, it seems to me, if we satisfy ourselves merely with propagandizing people on the desirability of democracy. It isn't democracy that is in question in the minds of many; what they're worried about is the economic and social system which fails to give them opportunity and reasonable security."

Dr. Studebaker pleaded that we teach the truth about our economic system. Said he: "They are telling us that we suffer because the politicians we have selected don't know what to do, because they are corrupt, because foreigners have taken too many jobs, because international bankers are in control, because of the Jews or the Negroes. These are the same demagogic appeals and slogans that have created support for the dictatorships. They can be effective here only if the people do not understand the causes of the economic crisis and the nature of the new era of technology."

Unless the Teachers' College Lay Council can see its way clear to invite economists of the various schools of thought to discuss *publicly* (not in closed sessions) what is wrong with our social economy and how best to provide economic security for all, and unless the sponsors of such congresses in the future will allow representatives of labor and the unemployed to share

in the Congress deliberations *democratically*, according to their numerical strength, we can only foresee the continued multiplication of anti-democratic propaganda in the name of democracy.

My Name Is Cohen

TO paraphrase Shakespeare: What is there in a name? The average citizen will answer: "Nothing—simply nothing!"

Sharp exception to this, however, will be taken by a little boy living in the Bronx. One day recently, while busily engaged in bouncing a rubber ball at the playground situated on E. 141st Street between St. Ann and Brook Aves., he was set upon by a gang of older boys who later were identified as the children of local Christian Fronters.

"What is your name?" they challenged.

"My name is Cohen," answered the little boy unsuspectingly.

And so never having heard of Shakespeare but only of Father Coughlin, they beat him up so severely that he required the attention of a doctor.

PROCLAMATION of AMERICAN REDISCOVERY WEEK

October 8th to 14th, 1939

WHEREAS the United States of America was founded for the solemn purpose of assuring to all men their equal and unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;

WHEREAS the Constitution of these United States was established to promote the general welfare and to secure the blessings of liberty to its inhabitants;

WHEREAS the American people fought and suffered long and bloody wars to secure the equal protection of the laws to all persons, so that now these rights form the very bone and sinew of their national life and history;

WHEREAS these rights are once again being challenged by powerful foes of equality and liberty, both at home and abroad:

through attempts to deny man's right to express his opinions freely and to share in the choice of his government,

through the dissemination of false racial theories which deny the equality of man's birthright and set man against man according to the color of his skin or the name of his grandfather,

through attempts to deny to the foreign born and aliens the equal protection of the laws which the Constitution guarantees them, and further

through attempts to single out these groups for harsh and inequitable treatment as a stepping stone to the destruction of the traditional immunities of all persons; and

WHEREAS these attacks on the common rights of the people subvert all that has been most treasured in the history of America—indeed, do so in the very name of American patriotism,

BE IT THEREFORE PROCLAIMED that the anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus and the week in which it falls be established as a Week for the Rediscovery of America and of those rights which from the beginning of its history have made its name the symbol of liberty.

Let this Week be the occasion for celebrating and reaffirming the principles of American Democracy, in a solemn resolve to secure for all the inhabitants of these United States the necessary conditions for life itself: liberty and equal rights for all, regardless of color, creed, political conviction, or national origin.

Among the numerous endorsers of the Proclamation of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom are: Governor M. Clifford Townsend of Indiana; Governor R. T. Jones of Arizona; Rev. Dr. Samuel McRea Cavert, Executive Secretary, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Wm. Hiram Foulkes, Vice-President, International Society of Christian Endeavor; Bishop Alexander Mann, Pittsburgh; Committee of Catholics for Human Rights; Georgia Educational Association; Kathryn McHaly, Executive Director, American Association of University Women; and the American Federation of Teachers.

TWO LETTERS ON THE WILLIAMSTOWN INSTITUTE

I HAD the feeling, at times, that I was in Shangri-La. Perhaps it was due to the fact that the Institute of Human Relations conducted by the National Conference of Christians and Jews convened during the last fatal week of August. Williamstown is a beautiful village. The thousand people who came for the sessions on "Citizenship and Religion: A Consideration of American Policy with Regard to the Relations of Church and Synagogue to the State," set a fine example of democratic conduct and belief.

The papers presented by thoughtful men and women in Education, Art, Literature, Religion, Government, Law, and Science were significant and worthy of the challenge of the hour. The important phases of social, political and economic difficulties confronting America were illuminated either by some address of the day or in the many exciting group discussions. There was no glossing over issues and the speakers were honest. It was Shangri-La I suppose because of the contrast with other places at home and abroad. But I also know that this was America at its finest, a true flowering of American democracy which had nothing in common with Royal Oak poisoning.

The tense session was that held on "The Church and World Peace," the very morning Hitler ordered the attack on Poland. I want to point out a significant paradox in audience reaction because it reveals the divided state of mind common to most Americans. The three speakers were united in their stand for isolation. To this point of view the audience gave stirring applause. Yet when Dr. Kilpatrick pointed out that had the United States joined the League of Nations, had we taken a firm stand against the ruthless acquisition of Manchuria and Ethiopia, the present tragedy might not have happened, the whole audience cheered wildly. It convinced me that unless we quickly shape an effective neutrality policy it won't be long before the United States will be dragged into this war as we were in it the last time.

A distinguishing aspect of the Institute this year was the presence of a large number of young college people. They were mainly interested in what Dorothy Day, the editor of the *Catholic Worker*, had to say about farm cooperatives. They also spent a great deal of time discussing on how to deal with prejudice on the campus. It is interesting to note as a gauge to the social temper of the conference that the book most often mentioned by these young people, and by the whole Conference for that matter, was *Grapes of Wrath* by Steinbeck.

This Institute is one of the healthy signs of our democracy. It made its belief fully clear that we can have no enduring political democracy without economic democracy.

HYMAN JUDAH SCHACHTEL

YOU may be interested in hearing about the incredible group of hundreds of persons who met at Williamstown, Mass., to promote unity and harmony among peoples of three religions. The realization that hundreds came from far and near to discuss the fateful problems of the hour with moral concern strengthens one's battered hopes.

My recollections of the actions, speeches, and resolutions of the Institute have become kaleidoscopic. This lack of pattern is not the fault of the committee that arranged the Institute. Indeed, it was planned and executed so efficiently that there were no loopholes for possible sprees of misunderstanding at the sessions or for hang-overs of anger. On the platform at each session there were a Catholic, a Jew, and a Protestant. The inevitable one, two, three gave me the impression that they were trying earnestly to keep everybody in a good humor. This attempt at equality and appreciation, however, is not to be despised in these days of malicious trouble makers.

But where were the Negroes? One colored gentleman was present and participated actively but his attempts to introduce the problems of his people were evaded successfully. It is true that the National Conference emphasizes religion and that job is big enough in itself. True also, that the Negro is a Catholic or a Protestant and as such can attend the conference on religions. But the absence of Negroes was noticeable—and I wondered.

Although these comments may seem critical, and they are intended to be, yet my most significant impressions are favorable and thrilling ones. I felt again the inspirational and emotional beauty of Judaism as its rabbis touched upon the unquenchable faith of the ages. I heard a Protestant Bishop criticize intelligently the church. I realized once more the determination of youth to know the world and to do something about its evils. I saw knots of persons discussing intently matters of spiritual and social importance and hundreds take away pamphlets of facts to combat racial and religious intolerance. I heard propaganda devices and dangers analyzed and remember that twenty years ago such clear-cut analyses were not available for a public audience. I saw ignorance about the intricacies and strangeness of other religions give way to knowledge. Whatever may happen, these three religions are potent factors for progress or decline and I shall recall the ideals of Williamstown when I am most depressed over the threatening holocaust.

KATHRYN MANSELL

News of the Month

Law Enacted to Aid Aliens

President Roosevelt has signed a bill passed by Congress enabling the naturalization of non-citizens who were forced to enter this country illegally prior to July 1, 1924.

Officials of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born stated that this bill will help many thousands of non-citizens in their efforts to become naturalized. Information concerning citizenship can be obtained by applying at the Committee's office, Room 1505, 79 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Book-burners turn to Book-bribing

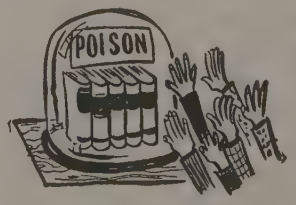
Nothing is sacred to the Nazis, least of all learning. Take the incident revealed before the Dies Committee by President John H. Sherman of Tampa University. It seems that Dr. Otto T. Kraus, professor of German at Tampa, is a liberal democrat who doesn't like the Nazis. So the Nazi government, which has gone to amazing lengths in meddling with American education, went gunning for Dr. Kraus with typical ward-heeler tactics. One day President Sherman found himself visited by the "distinguished" German Consul-General stationed at New Orleans, the Baron Edgar Spiegel von und zu Peckelheim (long name, short on tact). The Baron, according to Dr. Sherman, offered to donate a library of German books to the university on behalf of the Nazi government—which has no use for books, anyway—with the broadly-hinted condition that Professor Kraus be replaced by a Nazi-lover in return for the favor. The proposition, of course, was promptly rejected.

"I was sorry later I didn't kick him out of my office," Dr. Sherman testified.

For sheer brass, there's no beating those Nazis.

Attention New York Board of Education

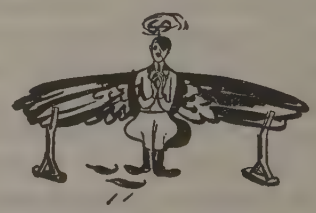
In contrast to the above, there's the case of the Nazi propagandist, Assistant Professor Otto Koischwitz, who teaches German at Hunter College in New York City. That well-informed news service, *The Hour,* reveals that Koischwitz, in his "American Letter," which recently appeared in the Nazi publication, *Literatur,* proclaims that Hitler and Germany were one and the same; that democracy was anti-German because it was anti-Nazi; and that Broadway was ruled by such "anti-German propaganda" as "The American Way." Koischwitz's record of Nazi service dates back several years. In 1935, for instance, he wrote a book in English, *A German-American Interprets Germany* for American consumption, which was full of praise for Hitler and book-burning, and scorn for democracy. "Intellect is poison, blood is power," is one of the priceless quotations in his book.



We wonder what kind of "German" Assistant Professor Koischwitz is teaching his students at Hunter?

Nazi Persecution of Catholics Continues

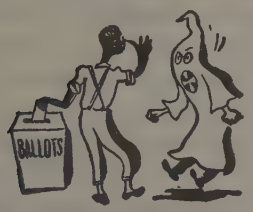
The Nazi attack on Catholicism in the Reich is being broadened, as indicated by recent dispatches. The Catholic pastor of Ulm in Wuertemberg has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment for the crime of visiting Bishop Sproll of Rottenberg, who was driven out of his diocese by the Nazis some time ago. In Austria the Salzburg Catholic University has been suppressed. The nuns who acted as nurses at the Lainz Hospital have been evicted and supplanted by the so-called Brown Sisters of the Nazi Party. The German Government has barred many priests of Lower Tyrol from entering the Reich, on the ground that they constitute "undesirable elements." Archbishop Waitz of Salzburg has issued a pastoral letter charging the Nazis with persecuting Catholics. "Austria has become an experimental field in which they (the Nazis) are trying to see to what extent Christianity can be destroyed," he said.



The drive against Catholicism has become intensified in the protectorate that was Czechoslovakia until struck by the Nazi blight. The Nazis are even trying to suppress religious functions in honor of St. Wenceslas, patron saint of Bohemia, on the ground that "the only patron of Bohemia is Adolf Hitler." Nazi authorities have warned the populace not to "misuse" religious festivals as patriotic demonstrations. Religious books can be sold only in special bookshops; non-religious stores are not permitted to carry religious literature of any kind. The Sisters of the Good Shepard and the Sisters of the Convent of St. Elizabeth in Danzig have been forced out by the Nazi authorities.

The Committee for Catholic Refugees from Germany has received 3,500 appeals for help from Catholic victims of Nazi persecutions. For glowing details of the wonderful things that Adolf Hitler has done for Germany, see Father Coughlin's *Social Justice.*

The Kluxers Are K-K-Klaning Again



The kleagles and kowardly kutthroats of the Ku Klux Klan have been krawling out of their Klaverns again. It will be remembered that these white-hooded pests, who are trying to reduce the American Constitution to a scrap of paper, failed miserably in their recent attempt to keep the colored voters of Miami from the polls by terrorization. The stout-hearted Negroes of Miami wouldn't let themselves be bulldozed out of their rights as citizens. Now we learn from *The Crisis,* organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that the K. K. K. of Greenville, S. C., has advertised in the local newspapers, calling upon all members and sympathizers to combine in preventing Negroes from registering and voting. According to *The Crisis,* the leader of the youth council of the N. A. A. C. P. has been arrested upon a framed charge of telephoning a white girl to ask her for a date. It seems that this youth had been active in instructing the Negroes in their rights, and urging them to register at the polls. Reporters for hostile dailies had been interviewing him, he had received threats from the Klan, and he knew he was on the spot. "The accusation," says *The Crisis,* "that in these circumstances he would do anything as foolish (in South Carolina) as telephoning a white girl for a date is preposterous."

This most despicable type of intimidation, developed into a fine art by the K. K. K., must be vigorously fought on all fronts as a major obstacle to democratic progress. The Kluxers should be taught that the Constitution is still the law of the land, even in South Carolina.

Southern Newspapers Attack Racism

Signs increase of the heartening growth of Southern liberalism. Witness the editorial comment of two Birmingham, Alabama newspapers, the *Age-Herald* and the *News,* on the campaign of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom against the misleading use of the word "race" in American textbooks.

The *Age-Herald,* titling its editorial "Down with Racism" pointed out:

"Among the many causes of division which separate man into battling groups none is more destructive than the hateful and utterly unscientific doctrine of "racism". This doctrine contends that as races, men have certain basic traits and characteristics which are unalterable. From this generalization proceed the various cults of racial superiority and inferiority, the prejudices and antagonism that are bringing so much misery and tragedy to the world. This doctrine is without scientific foundations."

The Birmingham News stated:

"Racial feeling and national feeling run high these days. They are easily aroused. There is all the more obligation, therefore, to use carefully and correctly words applied to other peoples. Words that cross international borders should be words of peace, aptly chosen and considerate of the sensitiveness of others."

In another editorial the *Birmingham News* made the following comment on a seminar on racial relations conducted by the Negro YWCA in Birmingham:

"This is a hopeful endeavor and one that deserves encouragement. Particularly at this time, when in other parts of the world racial antagonisms are causing grief and tragedy, we should all wish to encourage every sincere effort that is directed toward the betterment of interracial relations in our own country. In America we should never forget that racial tolerance, as well as religious tolerance, is an integral part of our democratic faith and our spirit of freedom and that is true with respect to all races and religions."

Fomentors of Discord in America

Congressman Gavagan, one of the sponsors of the anti-lynch bill, pointed out in a recent radio address over WMCA:

"Nazi agents and Nazi organizations, open and disguised, are planted in every part of this country, working feverishly to sow discord and hate among the American people in order to reap the harvest of the resultant chaos and confusion.

"They together with all the small scattered groups of Fascists throughout the country who draw their inspiration from the Nazis, would use such a situation resulting in aroused blind and unreasoning passions to destroy our democratic form of government and set up a ruthless totalitarian dictatorship.

"I must admit that a number of native-born charlatans and crackpots have jumped on the Nazi bandwagon and today bask in the dubious shadow of Hitler's brown sun. They come from all walks of life, from all types of organizations, including, unfortunately the various faiths. And their vehicle of destruction is anti-Semitism."

Books

The Anatomy of Propaganda

THE FINE ART OF PROPAGANDA: *A Study of Father Coughlin's Speeches. Edited by Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee.* 140 *pages. New York: Harcourt, Brace. Cloth-bound,* $1.50. *Paper-bound,* 75 *cents.*

TWO years ago, in October, 1937, a group of enlightened educators established the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc., as a non-profit organization "to help the intelligent citizen to detect and to analyze propaganda, by revealing the agencies, techniques, and devices used by the propagandist." The Institute's founders recognized that no useful purpose would be served if they proceeded indiscriminately to denounce all propaganda; they were aware that there was "good" propaganda as well as "bad" in the world today; accordingly, they decided to evaluate each particular propaganda in terms of its derivation from original sources, and to publicize the results. Since then the Institute has done notable work, both in its monthly bulletins and in its special reports.

Latest of the Institute's special reports deals with the speeches of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin. To quote Clyde R. Miller, secretary of the Institute, Father Coughlin's radio speeches were chosen for analysis "because they represent a fairly typical borrowing of foreign anti-democratic propaganda methods by an American propagandist." Objective analysis shows that Father Coughlin's speeches are products of every deceptive device in the demogogue's oratorical arsenal.

Most important, we believe, is the fact that the Institute succeeds in unmasking Father Coughlin's methods not only by its effective marshalling of the facts but also because of its astute use of easily understandable symbols that graphically characterize the propaganda technique. These, by making possible a quick comprehension of Father Coughlin's techniques, should assure the publication a popular reception.

Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee, who edited this valuable report, state that the propagandists such as Father Coughlin depend for effect primarily upon seven "tricks of the trade." These are Name Calling, the use of Glittering Generalities, the Transfer Technique, Testimonials, Plain Folks approach, Card Stacking, and urging the audience to climb on the Band Wagon. Most of us have seldom dissected propaganda in so thorough a manner—we've been content to evaluate statements against experience so that the mere focussing of our minds on the behind-the-scenes practices of the propagandists should enable us to become less susceptible to deception.

For Name Calling, the editors employ the drawing of a down-pointing thumb—the method, you will recall, which the despots of ancient Rome and their cohorts used to condemn Christians in the arenas where lions waited impatiently to pounce upon them. For Glittering Generalities—which the editors describe as "associating something with a 'virtue word' . . . to make us accept and approve the thing without examining the evidence"—the editors use a brilliant gem as symbol. The Mask which played an important part in the ancient Greek theater serves as a symbol for the Transfer Technique—the carrying of "authority, sanction, and prestige of something respected and revered over to something else . . . to make the latter acceptable." The Seal and Ribbons symbolize the "stamp of authority" and "consists in having some respected and hated person say that a given idea of program or product or person is good or bad." An Old Shoe symbolizes the attempt of the propagandist to portray himself as "one of the boys" whose ideas and interests he shares; while Card Stacking "symbolized by an ace of spades," is a card traditionally used to signify treachery, and the Band Wagon symbolized by the headmaster's hat and baton, such as were used on old-fashioned band wagons reveal the attempt of the propagandist to convince his audience that "everyone is joining," and that to be in step they should do likewise.

These symbols are effectively utilized in individual chapters devoted to the analysis of parts of several of Father Coughlin's speeches. The effect is exceedingly enhanced, however, in the analysis of one entire speech, and "educational talk on politics and economics "which Father Coughlin delivered on February 26, 1939. Then we see all the tricks in operation. For the symbols punctuate every statement and reveal how Father Coughlin contrives to delude his followers.

WINIFRED JOHNSON

The Jew and the World

MR. EMMANUEL. *By Louis Golding.* 448 *pages. New York: Viking Press.* $2.50.

ONCE, shortly after the death of Zangwill, Louis Golding made a remark which at the moment appeared to have no great significance. We were discussing Jewish writers, and the eminence and greatness of Zangwill in spite of the fact that he had great literary flaws, too. And we agreed that for his time Zangwill was unquestionably the first spokesman of his people, the Jewish people, in their relationship to the world.

For while the classic Yiddish writer, Sholom Aleichem, wrote of the Jews as they were amongst themselves, perhaps closing the great era of folk-writing, it remained for the split-personality Jews, the hyphenated Jews, the Jews already possessed of an auxiliary culture, to discuss the complex relationships that were to develop between the people and the peoples amongst whom they lived.

At that time Louis Golding had

already published "Day of Atonement," a religion-streaked novel of high literary mannerism, and then he had published "Miracle Boy," a war-hunger book which had nothing to do with Jews. Momentarily, the progression of his career seemed to be indicated by "Miracle Boy." I thought of him as a writer's writer, a stylist, and felt that in spite of his great dramatic power there was a preciousness in his work which would limit his appeal. And, from the book, I judged that this was what he wanted: to be the special angel of the knowing, to be acclaimed by those of educated taste.

It was at that time that Louis Golding remarked, in our wondering who would take Zangwill's place as the pre-eminent Anglo-Jewish writer, that he hoped some day to merit that place.

I was surprised because as I have explained, it seemed incongruous for the author of "Miracle Boy" to express an ambition to be known as a Jewish writer. I had imagined him to be desirous of literary rather than folk acclaim.

But Louis Golding has realized his ambition, and it is of course the greatest ambition which a writer may have: to become the pre-eminent spokesman of his people. His work has been increasingly shorn of those adornments which made him the darling of the literati, subtle symbolisms and erudite classical allusions have been replaced by direct characterization and simple, sharp metaphor. He has not hesitated to use the devices of popular fiction, neither did such artists as Sinclair Lewis and Jakob Wassermann and Israel Zangwill; like them, Golding has been able to endow conventional story-patterns with validity.

Thus, in "Magnolia Street" he used the classic Jewish-problem pattern: the pattern of intermarriage, for the basic structure of a great novel which pictured all the social ramifications of English Jewish life of the period. That basic pattern has served from the Book of Ruth to "Abie's Irish Rose"; when Golding took it for his major work it was apparent that he was addressing himself to the widest folk audience, rather than to the arbiters of excellent phrases. And he has stepped out of the quandary that snares so many Jewish writers who find themselves capable of assuming the culture of the land in which they are born, and are therefore tempted to become total German writers, as Wassermann wished, or total English writers, or total French writers: to address the apparently larger audience of their birth-land, in fear of the limitation of reputation imposed upon an author who writes only about Jews.

This is not to say that a Jewish writer must of necessity confine himself to Jewish characters or Jewish themes. But his work is healthiest when he fully realizes and gives place to his Jewish as well as his birthland cultural sources in his work.

Golding has achieved this balance in "Mr. Emmanuel." It is a story of Jewish life in relation to England and to the world; it is a story that belongs in both Jewish and English literature, a Jewish folk story of universal significance.

It is the first story to make completely real the horror of the Nazi regime. There have been more painful stories, and stories greater in scope, and stories by people who actually lived the persecutions they describe; but Golding's tale of Mr. Emmanuel's quest, from Doomington to Berlin, is, like "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and like "Grapes of Wrath," the essential folk-tale that personalizes a situation of great social wrong.

It is a simple tale, of old Mr. Emmanuel of Magnolia Street, retiring from his post on the Board of Guardians, preparing to go to the colony of Ain Charod in Palestine, where his son lives. But one of the

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JACQUES MARITAIN

Catholic philosopher regards anti-Semitism as one of the dangerous symptoms of the general deterioration of our civilization. With Pope Pius XI, he believes that "spiritually we are Semites" and that "anti-Semitism is a movement in which we Christians can have no part whatever."

A CHRISTIAN LOOKS AT THE JEWISH QUESTION

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O'39

Magnolia Street daughters, that very daughter who married a Gentile, writes to him to come and help her acclimatize some German Jewish children she has taken into her home. And among those children is a half-Jewish boy whose father is believed to have been killed by the Nazis, and whose mother has, for some mysterious reason, stopped writing to him.

The boy is breaking under the strain of not knowing what has become of his mother. And at last, having tried every means to trace the woman, Mr. Emmanuel undertakes to go into Germany, to find her.

The story of this quest, the slow development of the cold horror of life in Berlin, the slow revelation of degradation, is told with classic power. Sentimental, harmless, Mr. Emmanuel, with his little beard, his solemn attache case, is the arch-type of the "good Jewish heart."

His few simple inquiries key into an adventure as exciting and melodramatic as an Alfred Hitchcock film; yet every detail of movement in Golding's story has meaning and significance, every turn of the plot reveals another facet of the Nazi mind and another depth of Jewish resistance.

For through his simple Mr. Emmanuel, Golding reveals the whole structure of Nazi intrigue, he shows how their false accusations are built up, as the Reichstag fire accusation was built up, and he shows the full extent of terror under which the German people live. His portrayal of the hushed, trembling atmosphere of Frau Kahn's boarding house is unforgettable.

And his revelation of what did become of the boy's mother is a masterful statement-through-story. It is good that Golding has told this tale in terms of action, action of the most popular sort: the drama of a search for a person who has disappeared. For he speaks now in the pure symbols that the masses understand; the symbols of major literature.

Throughout "Mr. Emmanuel," the

characteristics that bind this writer into the traditions of both Sholom Aleichem and Charles Dickens are apparent. There is a sweetness of characterization, especially in the case of Mr. Emmanuel, which would seem a flaw if it were not a traditional mark of Jewish folk-fiction; and on the English side there is a simplification through identifying-mannerisms, as in his picture of John Cooper the gruff sea-captain, that would again seem a flaw were it not in so literary-wise a writer as Golding, an apparently deliberate adherence to a method traditional in his country's fiction. These are stylizations rather than weaknesses.

I should like to see the legend of Mr. Emmanuel embodied in a film as well as in this book; it should and must reach the widest possible audience. MEYER LEVIN

The Democratic Tradition

A HANDBOOK OF FREEDOM. *A Record of English Democracy Through Twelve Centuries; Chosen by Jack Lindsay and Edgell Rickword.* 408 *pages. New York: International Publishers.* $2.50.

THE worst fallacy of the traditionalists is that History is a Tory goddess. Whoever challenges abuses is branded as a "Radical"; unreasoning conservatism, the "wisdom of prejudice," is the privilege of the true-born Briton; and Edmund Burke is accepted as the supreme exponent of English political thought. It is right that this fallacy should be exposed, and combatted on its own ground, historically. This "Handbook of Freedom" is "a record of English democracy through twelve centuries." If the belted Earl is the heir of the ages, so is the labor leader.

In this anthology the authors deliberately minimize the obvious praises of liberty by Whig statesmen and historians. If such declarations were to be taken too seriously, Messrs. Albert Jay Nock and Herbert Hoover would be our foremost "Liberals." They are not vitally interested either in purely constitutional developments. There may be surprisingly little freedom under parliamentary forms, for instance in Ireland before the Union or in pre-war Hungary. Even at present, we are apt to identify freedom with the irresponsible, inefficient and corrupt rule of the talk-shops. The essence of freedom is to be found, not in the sonorous buncombe of the professional politicians, but in the resolve of the common man to resist oppression. "The village Hampden" is the true champion of British liberty.

For the common man, "freedom" means first of all freedom from starvation. As "the most ethereal of our poets," Shelley, expressed it,

> For the laborer it is bread
> And a comely table spread. . . .

Primo vivere. No less obviously, this is not all. The authoritarian regimes can abolish unemployment, insecurity, starvation: they do not thereby establish freedom.

The book is therefore a compilation of historical documents-facts of experience rather than literary or philosophical flights. It is a thoroughly British book, rooted deep in the soil. It is free from any ideology: it is attuned to the mentality of the British labor leaders. It is both fascinating and extremely useful; but, like all histories, it proves only what you want it to prove.

The monarchical, the aristocratic, the ecclesiastical traditions are full of contradictions: so is the democratic. Caedmon, John Ball, Wat Tyler, Jack Cade, Milton, Locke, Rochester, Goldsmith, Godwin, Matthew Arnold, Walter Pater, Oscar Wilde and Tom Mann are all represented in this truly catholic collection: no wonder the expression of the composite picture is one of well-meaning and utter bewilderment. In a word, it resembles Ramsay Macdonald, the Lost Leader, whose absence is painfully conspicuous. Truly British in this respect also, the authors have a lurking admiration for Cromwell and his regime: "The New Model Army is the advance guard of democracy. Widespread ideas of toleration and social advance under the Commonwealth. The army is dispersed and democracy recedes." To one who does not enjoy the privilege of British birth, Cromwell is but a minor Fuehrer, more sanctimonious than the rest, and rather more cruel: his treatment of Ireland does not compare favorably with Hitler's treatment of Bohemia.

A tradition is a will-o'-the-wisp. Tradition-worship, democratic, communistic or capitalistic, compels us to uphold the errors of our party: "Laborites right or wrong!" In this case, it induces the authors to indorse the disastrous mistake of British labor (as led by Ramsay Macdonald) in opposing, not simply the methods of the War Cabinet, but the very principle of the Great War. It has not yet been proved that Serbia invaded Austria, or Belgium Germany; at no time before their complete collapse were the Prussians ready for a discussed peace: the militarists desired to preserve the fruits of their aggression; all that they wanted was a Bucharest, a Brest-Litovsk, a Munich. If it was an act of "vindictive" folly to liberate Czechoslovakia and Poland, then Hitler is right in restoring the status quo, in enslaving Poles and Bohemians again. Hitler has been shrewdly called "God's answer to the critics of the Versailles treaty."

This book was completed before the war broke out. I imagine that the authors would deplore at the same time and with the same nonconformist righteousness the 1919 settlement, the rape of Czechoslovakia, Chamberlain's refusal to fight, Chamberlain's willingness to fight: muddle-headedness is not the privilege of any class or party. On an historical basis, only confusion is possible, because the past is confusion. So long as medicine worried about Hippocrates and Galen, it failed to advance. Peace to the bones of John Ball, Wat Tyler, Jack Cade and the Chartists! They are as dead as bluff King Hal and good Queen Bess ALBERT GUERARD

ON GUARD, AMERICA!

At this critical juncture of history, let us not succumb to the rising war madness.

We must not place our fate in the hands of "strong men." We must not submit to a "temporary" suspension of our democratic rights. We must not let up in our attack upon the masked enemies of liberty within our country. What we need is not less democracy but more of it.

It is not too late—*Yet.* Join with other men of good will *Now.* Become a subscriber to EQUALITY Today.

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